FBIS DAILY REPORT

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TRADE PROTOCOL WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA SIGNED

AU251439 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 25 Dec 80

["Protocol on Goods Exchanges and Payments Between Albania and Czechoslovakia for 981 Signed --ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)--The protocol on goods exchanges and payments between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia for 1981 was signed in Prague.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by the vice-minister of foreign trade Myrteza Sinoimeri and for the Czechoslovak side by the vice-minister of foreign trade Eng. Alois Hloch.

Attending the signing ceremony were the member of the two delegations. Attending was also the interim charge d'affaires of the embassy of the PSR of Albanian in Czechoslovakia, Agim Kasa.

During its stay in Czechoslovakia, the delegation was received by the minister of foreign trade of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia Andrej Barcak.

LEADERS SEND GREETINGS ON LAO NATIONAL DAY

BK191154 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0430 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Greetings message from Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor; Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; and Mehmet Shehu, chairman of Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and LPDR premier, and Souphanouvong, president of state of the LPDR on LPDR National Day--date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the LPDR National Day, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and in our own names, we would like to extend our warmest tribute and best wishes to you, comrades, and to the Lao people. The Albanian people have followed with satisfaction the progress successfully achieved by the Lao people in building their country. We wish them yet greater achievements in their national construction and development, and national defense against the schemes of sabotage and intervention by the imperialist forces. We hope that relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and peoples will incessantly develop and be enhanced.

MINISTER OF INTERNAL TRADE REVIEWS ACHIEVEMENTS

AU271947 [Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 19 December publishes on pages 1-2 an approximately 2,500-word interview with Minister of Internal Trade Viktor Nushi, in which he reviews achievements during 1980. According to Nushi, commodity distribution for 1980 is expected to be 173 million leks above that of last year. He mentions increased sales of sugar, edible fats, meat and fish, cheese, eggs and so forth, ranging from 3.9 percent to 8.1 percent, as well as other mass consumer commodities. Prices and market conditions have remained stable despite the economic and financial crisis which has gripped the capitalist and revisionist world, and the consequent higher prices paid for some imported commodities.

In accordance with party directives, Nushi states, "Priority has been given to supplying the countryside with all types of consumer commodities, according to needs. This has made it possible to increase well-being in the countryside and bring it increasingly up to the level of the cities."

Asked about growth in 1981 and the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, Nushi states that "The distribution of commodities in 1981 and throughout the seventh 5-year period is expected to rise at a higher race than that achieved in the sixth 5-year period."

Further on, Viktor Nushi states that the present level of development requires a higher level of management in the trade sector, the modernization of the material and technical base, improvements in the catering sector, and higher standards by the workers of the trade sector. He concludes by saying: "A persistent effort to make the trade sector as profitable as possible, to reduce costs, to struggle against alien manifestations, to consolidate socialist property and to inculcate in our working people an understanding about the consequences of misuse, deficits and surpluses--these are some of the major directions of the efforts of the working people in the trade sector next year."

INCREASE IN VOLUME OF TRANSPORTATION REPORTED

AU231120 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 23 Dec 80

["The Volume of Albanian Transport Has Kept Increasing Constantly"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 23 (ATA)--The sectors of Albanian transport, just as the entire economy of the country, claim distinction for high rates of increase. The volume of work carried out by the three kinds of transport, railway, motor-road and sea transport, is realized by 101 percent during the current five-year plan.

The main characteristic for the Albanian transport during the current five-year plan is the intensification of railway transport. Now as compared with five years ago, the volume of work carried out by this kind of transport is 55.5 percent larger. This has made possible that about 37 percent of all the commodities of economy as against 31.8 percent in 1973 be transported through railways.

This year as compared with 1979 the volume for the movement of commodities through railway transport is increased by 10.3 percent, motor-road by 8.8 percent and local sea transport by 24.1 percent. Likewise, tasks have been over fulfilled in the external sea and motor-road transport.

At the same time the passengers' service in the urban and interurban transport has kept increasing.

BRIEFS

GREEK DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--The delegation of the Technical Chamber of Greece, headed by the president of this chamber Prof. Evangelos Moloubis left Albania. Upon its stay in Albania, the delegation visited educational, cultural and social-economic institutions in various districts. The delegation of the Technical Chamber of Greece was received by the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami. Likewise, it was also received by the vice minister of construction Leandro Zoto and by the vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, Prof. Kole Popa. In honour of the delegation, the rector of the Tirana University Prof. Petrit Radovicka, gave a dinner, which was also attended by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece to Albania, Konstandinos Politis. [Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 10 Dec 80 AU]

USSR'S BEGLOV ON U.S. 'PROVOCATION' AGAINST POLAND

AU241637 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Spartak Beglov, APN political observer, written especially for RABOTNICHESKO DELO: "Week of American Provocations"]

[Text] Propaganda campaigns, such as the "Captive Nations Week", "Human Rights Week" and so forth, are now playing an important role in U.S. policy. It would be naive to believe, however, that during such "weeks" all Americans are deeply concerned about, let us say, the fate of the Indians whose land has been robbed and that they think about how to give this land back to the Indians, or that they worry about finding jobs for 8 million of their compatriots who are unemployed. On the contrary, in such circumstances the American politicians particularly are eagerly concerned with their favorite occupation; namely, to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries.

For example, let us take the second week of December. Without any quotation marks, we can call this a week of American provocations. It is difficult to remember any other case of a government applying methods of political blackmail and political misinformation to such an extent, in such an unrestrained "cowboy" style, as the outgoing Carter administration is doing at present.

The hysterical campaign is based mainly on provocational intentions about a so-called "Soviet danger" as regards the. . . Polish People's Republic--a country which at a time of great trial has quite recently received considerable material assistance precisely from the Soviet Union. This country has always considered fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as the main guarantee of its peaceful development and for the inviolability of its postwar borders. Poland received the most authoritative support from its allies at the recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact member countries' leaders.

Despite all these facts, the people across the sea are concerned, but they do not want any normalization of the situation. Washington published a whole series of inventions concocted according to the principle of "the greater the lie, the more easily people will believe it." In the long run, the Western political centers have become prisoners of their own speculation. The U.S. Senate adopted a resolution containing a "warning" against the Soviet Union in connection with the situation around Poland. Thus, the American politicians made it overtly understood that no norms or regulations exist for them as regards behavior in international relations, and that they are listening to the advice of those elements which are interested in an intensified crisis in Poland. Thus, this step of the U.S. Senate was received as a subversive measure by the public in all socialist countries of Eastern Europe.

Poland is a sovereign state. It has long ago chosen its friends and allies. Apparently, people in Washington seem to have forgotten this fact. The same applies to the fact that Poland does not belong to the NATO sphere and that the Polish leaders and people have once more confirmed their loyalty to the alliance of the socialist countries and their readiness to solve their problems by remaining loyal to socialism.

Nevertheless, the American politicians are eager in their anti-Polish and anti-Soviet blackmail because any kind of change in Poland is convenient to them, as long as it does not take place along the socialist path. The provocations were not limited to eloquent declarations. The NATO Navy forces have been placed in a state of combat readiness. A subdetachment of the U.S. Air Force AWACS reconnaissance system has been dispatched to Europe in order to stress the extent of the pressure which the West is exerting on Poland. The participants in the meeting of NATO member countries' ministers were forced to discuss the so-called "question of Poland." All official and private statements made by spokesmen in Washington or at NATO headquarters on the Polish situation reveal the wish to find a "pretext" for an extreme exacerbation of the international situation.

Contrasting with the hysterical behavior in Washington, a calm and firm confidence was expressed in the capital of the Warsaw Pact, which stated that the Polish party--the PZPR--the workers class and the entire Polish people will be capable of overcoming the existing difficulties and will safeguard the further development of their country along the party chosen by the Polish people 36 years ago. The Polish side unmistakably declared to the uninvited Western "guardians" as follows: The only useful thing which you can do for us is to stop interfering in our affairs, and abandon all attempts at violating and distorting our process of innovation. Such attempts are used against detente, for anti-Soviet and anti-Polish goals. This is now Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, expressed the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Polish people in his speech to the ZSL congress on 14 December 1980.

A representative of the Polish Episcopate, Alojzy Orszulik, appealed to Western mass media to stop the flood of "noisy and irresponsible statements aimed against our Eastern neighbor."

At the same time, Washington's actions on the international scene increasingly convey the impression that the American politicians who are mindless, and involved in a "powerplay in all directions," more and more adhere to the slogan: "The worse, the better." The worse the situation is in the Middle East and Asia, the worse the situation is in Europe and in Poland--the better it is for those who are ending their unglorious term in the White House.

It is no coincidence that during the second week of December, the so-called "Atlantic Week," when meetings of the NATO supreme organs were held, everything was subjected to one goal--the Washington politicians and Pentagon generals had to push their partners toward a new round in the arms race. This time the operation to force one's partners hands was accompanied by anti-Soviet and anti-Polish hysteria, with the obvious goal of exerting the necessary influence upon the allies. It is no coincidence that the West German daily GENERALANZEIGER wrote at the climax of the "Atlantic Week": "An atmosphere of depression and irritation prevails at NATO headquarters in Brussels." This is quite understandable: The policy of blackmail becomes a boomerang directed against the NATO allies, because it paralyzes their independence and their capacity to proceed along the path of expanding and intensifying detente, and expanding and intensifying cooperation with Eastern Europe. The real and not the alleged threat against Europe and against world peace lies precisely in the policy of provocations conducted by Washington.

MLADENOV, GROMYKO MEET; GROMYKO DEPARTS 24 DEC

AU241514 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 24 Dec (BTA)--Mr Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who arrived here yesterday on a friendly visit, had talks this morning with Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs.

In an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding they discussed matters pertaining to Bulgaro-Soviet relations and topical international issues.

After the meeting Mr Andrey Gromyko left for home.

REPORTAGE ON VISITING HAWI-LED LEBANESE DELEGATION

Arrival 26 Dec

AU261653 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee, a delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party led by George Hawi, secretary general of the party Central Committee, arrived in Bulgaria.

At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Dimitur Stanishev and responsible members of the BCP Central Committee.

The members of the delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party laid a wreath at the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum and paid their respects at his coffin.

Meeting With Zhivkov

AU262010 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 26 Dec (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Mr George Hawi, secretary general of the CC of the Lebanese Communist Party.

Mr Hawi is on visit here in the head of a party delegation, who arrived in Bulgaria today at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

The two party leaders reaffirmed that the assessments of the BCP and of the Lebanese Communist Party fully coincide on all the questions of the contemporary international situation and expressed the determination of their parties to continue the development of cooperation between their parties, to contribute to the further consolidation of unity of the world communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Mr Zhivkov reaffirmed once again the solidarity of the BCP and Bulgaria with the struggle of the Lebanese communist and national progressive forces for frustration of the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for preservation of territorial integrity, national sovereignty and independence of Lebanon.

Mr Hawi told of the struggle of the Lebanese communists together with the other progressive and democratic forces and with the Palestinian resistance against the aggressive Israeli moves in Lebanon which are unfolding of late on a wide scale. He thanked for the support and solidarity of the BCP and the Bulgarian people to the just struggle of the Lebanese national patriotic forces and the Arab people of Palestine.

The quest assessed highly the consistent foreign policy of the BCP and of Bulgaria, aimed at establishment of lasting goodneighbourly relations in the Balkans, at consolidation of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world.

Views were exchanged on topical international problems and especially on the situation in the Middle East and Lebanon. Analyzed were certain questions of the international communist and workers' movement.

Meeting With BCP Members

AU262007 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 26 Dec (BTA)--Official talks were held here today between a delegation of the Lebanese Communist Party, led by Mr George Hawi, secretary general of the party, and a Bulgarian delegation, led by Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP.

A plan on deepening and expansion of cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Lebanese Communist Party in the 1981-1982 period was signed.

CEMA SECRETARY GENERAL FADEYEV DEPARTS 25 DEC

AU251757 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] On 25 December Nikolay Fadeyev, CEMA secretary general, who paid Bulgaria a business visit, departed from the country. At Sofia Airport he was seen off by Andrey Lukanov, CEMA Executive Committee chairman and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

REPORTAGE OF VISIT OF SRI LANKA FOREIGN MINISTER

Mladenov Dinner Toast

AU222145 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Dec 80 p 1, 2

[Report on toast proposed by Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs at an official dinner given in honor of Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed, minister of foreign affairs of Sri Lanka, on 17 December in Sofia]

[Text] In his toast Minister Petur Mladenov stated: We note with satisfaction that relations between our two countries are successfully developing and are in accordance with the principles of mutual respect and equal rights. I would like to stress in particular the fruitful cooperation between us in the field of culture, which plays an important role for mutual acquaintance and understanding, as well as for consolidating relations between our two peoples.

Next year the Bulgarian people will celebrate the 1,300th anniversary of their state. We are confident that the readiness of the public of Sri Lanka to become familiar with the historical past and contemporary achievements of Bulgaria will represent a new manifestation of our friendship.

The successes of our two countries in various sectors undoubtedly reveal better opportunities for expanding trade and economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and we are ready to look for suitable methods and forms for implementing these relations.

Petur Mladenov further dwelt on certain problems of the international situation. The process of detente is being subjected to a severe trial due to the imperialist forces which are forcing the arms race, he declared. They unceremoniously declare certain areas "zones of their vital interests" and are setting up new military bases, as well as organizing "quick reaction forces."

In expressing his concern about the situation in Asia, which the imperialists and hegemonists are trying to transform into a hotbed of constant tension and confrontation, the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs pointed out that our country is in favor of establishing durable peace and security on the Continent of Asia with the joint efforts of the Asian states themselves, and that our country is in favor of a just and peaceful settlement of existing problems.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria supports the proposal submitted by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev during his visit to India, for safeguarding the peace and security of the countries situated in the Persian Gulf area.

Along with the other socialist countries Bulgaria is doing everything within its power so that a realistic and businesslike approach may assert itself at the Madrid meeting, so that decisions on new prospects for the cause of peace and cooperation may be adopted at this meeting, and so that convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe may be included in these decisions.

Loyal to its consistent, peace-loving foreign policy, Bulgaria will continue in future to expand its relations with all countries and peoples, who are struggling for the peaceful future of our planet.

Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, expressed his confidence that the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka will continue to develop their mutual relations to the two peoples' benefit and in the interest of peace and international cooperation.

Joint Communique

AU241515 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Dec 80 p ?

[Joint communique on the visit of Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, to the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 17 to 20 December 1980]

[Text] At the invitation of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, paid an official friendly visit to Bulgaria from 17 to 20 December 1980.

During his visit, Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed was received by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and also by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The two ministers discussed the state of the bilateral relations and the prospects for their development. They also exchanged views on topical international issues.

The positive development of the relations between Bulgaria and Sri Lanka was noted and a readiness for their further promotion was expressed.

The two ministers agreed to more fully use all possibilities for developing bilateral trade and economic and scientific-technical relations. In this connection, they emphasized the need to intensify the trade contacts between the two countries.

They were pleased to establish the successful development of cooperation in the cultural field and the two sides reaffirmed a desire to continue marking the major developments and anniversaries in the history of the two peoples which will contribute better to their coming closer together, to an understanding and to further strengthening the ties between them.

Noting the importance of the forthcoming 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed briefed Foreign Affairs Minister Petur Mladenov on the preparations in Sri Lanka for marking this jubilee in an appropriate way.

While exchanging views on international issues, a concern over the exacerbation of the world situation was expressed. They also stressed the necessity for strengthening and deepening the process of detente, halting the arms race and undertaking effective measures for disarmament as well as for a just and lasting political solution of the disputed issues.

A belief was expressed that with the constructive approach of the member countries, the Madrid meeting can positively contribute to consolidating peace, security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

The two ministers declared themselves in favor of establishing a lasting peace, security and cooperation in Asia. They expressed a hope that the problems existing in this continent will be resolved through political means in the not too distant future.

They declared themselves in support for the efforts aiming at making the Indian Ocean an area of peace and reaffirmed a readiness to contribute to the successful holding of an international conference to achieve this goal.

The talks between the foreign ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka were held in a friendly atmosphere and in a constructive spirit.

The two countries are unanimous that this visit will contribute to further strenghtening the friendly relations between Bulgaria and Sri Lanka as well as to the mutual cooperation in various fields.

Abdul Carder Shamum Hameed, minister of foreign affairs of Sri Lanka, expressed gratitude to Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, for the cordial and genuine hospitality accorded to him during the visit. He invited Minister Petur Mladenov to pay an official friendly visit to Sri Lanka. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

STANISHEV RECEIVES CHILEAN COMMUNIST 25 DEC

AU252031 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] On 25 December Comrade Dmitur Stanishev received (Ferlando Milles), member of the Political Commission of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee, who is visiting Bulgaria.

Opinions on the most important questions of the international situation, as well as on some issues of the communist and workers' movement were exchanged during the talk, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

A complete unity of opinions and agreement on the positions of the two fraternal parties was noted on all matters that were discussed. The unreserved solidarity of the BCP and th entire Bulgarian people with the struggle of the Chilean Communist Party and the Chilean people for freedom, democracy and social justice was confirmed again.

BCP LILOV-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FROM NICARAGUA

AU251758 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] On 25 December the BCP delegation led by Aleksandur Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, which paid a 2-day visit to Managua at the invitation of the national leadership of Sandinist National Liberation Front, departed from Nicaragua.

The delegation met the leadership of the Sandinist Front. The talks, which were attended by Tomas Borge, Ballarde Arce, Henry Ruiz, Jaime Wheelock, and Luis Carrion dealt with matters related to further developing the relations and cooperation between the BCP and the front.

A talk with members of the government leadership also took place. It was attended by Daniel Ortega, Moises Hassan and Sergio Ramirez, and dealt with matters pertaining to expanding cooperation between Bulgaria and Nicaragua.

The Bulgarian guests visited historic sites and laid a wreath at the monument of (Carlos Amador), founder of the Sandinist movement and its prominent leader.

ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES CASTRO ON REELECTION

AU232121 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has sent a telegram of congratulations to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, in which he expresses most cordial congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of Castro's reelection to the post of first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee.

The Bulgarian communists, the working people in our country, the telegram states, have deep respect for you, the consistent revolutionary and fighter for the Cuban people's freedom and independence, for the social development of Cuba, to consolidate the unity of the international communist and workers movement.

We highly appreciate your personal contribution to constantly consolidating Bulgarian-Cuban friendship and cooperation, to the fraternal relations between our two parties and peoples, relations, which, we are confident, will continue to develop along ascending lines.

The telegram closes by expressing Comrade Todor Zhivkov's wishes to Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, to the Cuban communists and all working people for new great successes in building socialism and in implementing the decisions of the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party.

PDRY AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS 25 DEC

AU252001 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 25 Dec (BTA)--Mr Muhammad Haydara Masdus, the newly-appointed ambassador of the PDRY to Bulgaria, presented his credentials today.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council, emphasized during the ceremony that the relations between Bulgaria and the PDRY marked a steady headway at all levels and in all spheres thanks to the mutual striving of the two peoples for a further getting closer together.

He stressed: "I am convinced that the further development and deepening of Bulgaro-Yemeni cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism will serve the common good of the Bulgarian and Yemeni peoples, of the aims of the common struggle of the forces of progress and socialism, led by the USSR, against the imperialism and reaction, for peace, security and international understanding."

Mr Muhammad Haydara Masdus pointed out that the PDRY was steadily marching from the stage of national-democratic revolution to the stage of the transition to socialism. He emphasized: "In her efforts our country has the assistance and support of the friendly Bulgarian country and the other socialist community countries led by the great Soviet Union."

LEADING ORGANS SET UP ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE

AU261656 Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Sofia, 26 Dec (BTA)--By the adoption of an appeal to the Bulgarian people, the beginning of the celebrations of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state was solemnly announced here today. The celebrations will last throughout the year 1981.

A joint session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council, the government, the Executive Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the leadership of the trade unions and the Komsomol, the Central Committee of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism, was held at the National Assembly. A nationwide committee for the celebration of the 1300th anniversary was set up and an appeal to the Bulgarian people was adopted.

The committee is chaired by Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council president, it includes 174 party and state functionaries, social workers, intellectuals, clergymen.

Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the Committee for Culture and chairman of the "1300 Years of Bulgaria" National Coordination Commission, spoke at the session.

She said that the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state is a time to "draw a balance and account for historical experience, to explore more possibilities for creative solutions to the most topical social, economic and cultural problems, a time to direct the optimism and the labour of the nation towards the future."

A sacred right, a sacred duty of every people is to celebrate the great anniversaries of their development, to bow before the memory of their heroes and builders, to reconsider the historical and spiritual experience.

Mrs Zhivkova noted that Bulgaria will not celebrate "the exploiters, murderers and traitors who inflicted immeasurable suffering on the Bulgarian people, who hampered their development. We are approaching from class positions and give new meaning to the historical road passed up to the summit reached by socialist Bulgaria", underlined she. "We celebrate the people's democratic and revolutionary traditions, the heroic deed and daring of the people's masses and leaders, of Bogomils and peasants who rose in arms, of Hayduts and Titans of the national liberation struggle, of partisan-guerrillas and fighters for social reorganization of society, of great patriots and internationalists," said she.

Mrs Zhivkova said that this new meaning of the historical and cultural heritage in the light of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the linking of the past to the present, will become a factor in forming the consciousness of the Bulgarian people. It will outline the place and role of socialist Bulgaria in the development of contemporary international processes, and reveal the possibilities and perspectives of her future.

Speaking of the international aspects of the celebration, Mrs Zhivkova said that this is a recognition of Bulgaria's policy of goodneighbourliness and understanding, of peace and cooperation with all countries and all peoples, a recognition of her consistent policy of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of solidarity and support to the people who fight for freedom and independence, for social, cultural and spiritual progress.

"Socialist Bulgaria raises no territorial claims to anybody, in her present frontiers she sees sufficient space for her upsurge. Celebrating her 1300th anniversary, she reaffirms once again her will to live in peace and goodneighbourliness with the peoples and states in the Balkans," said Mrs Zhivkova, speaking of the consistent and principles peace policy of Bulgaria in Europe and the world.

She pointed out that nationwide celebration of the 1300th anniversary of Bulgaria will unfold under the sign of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its decisions.

Leaders Attend Meeting

AU262006 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Today hundreds of representatives of the Bulgarian public came to the National Assembly Hall to take part in a joint meeting of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, the Executive Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the Fatherland Front National Council, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol and the Central Committee of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism. The following persons were members of the meeting's Presidium: Comrades Todor Zhivkov; Grisha Filipov; Dobri Dzhurov; Ivan Mikhaylov; Lyudmila Zhivkova; Ognyan Doynov; Peko Takov; Pencho Kubadinski; Petur Mladenov; Petur Tanchev; Stanko Todorov; Todor Bozhinov; Tsola Dragoycheva; Vladimir Bonev; Dimo Dichev; chairman of the Central Committee of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism; and Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. The meeting was also attended by BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-members; secretaries and members of the Central Committee secretariat; members of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the government; secretaries and members of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union's Permanent Board; first secretaries of the BCP Okrug committees; chairmen of the okrug People's Councils; leaders of public and mass organizations and creative unions, and heads of religious denominations.

MATOUS ON REACTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN POLAND

AU241010 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Dec 80 p 2

[First installment of Milan Matous article: "False Friends of the People"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] LAST WEEK, STANISLAW KANIA, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SAID THAT THE FIRST WEEKS FOLLOWING THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE INDICATE GROWING ACTIVITY, GROWING AWARENESS OF ONE'S DUTIES AND A GREATER GRASP OF CONSEQUENCES ARISING FROM JEOPARDIZING THE LIFE'S SOCIALIST RENEWAL. NEVERTHELESS, HOSTILE ACTS ARE STILL OCCURRING. FOR EXAMPLE, KOR REPRESENTATIVES ARE PREACHING VIEWS AIMED AGAINST THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF SOCIALIST POLAND. ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, SPECULATIONS OF THE BOURGEOIS PRESS HAVE BEEN JOINED BY LEADING NATO CIRCLES WHICH DO NOT CONCEAL THAT IT WOULD FULLY SUIT THEM IF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION IN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WOULD SLIP OUT OF THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PZPR, AND IF POLAND WOULD SINK INTO CHAOS AND ANARCHY. OUR CONTRIBUTOR MILAN MATOUS HAS SENT US THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND AND ON THE WEST'S "INTEREST" IN THIS COUNTRY:

In recent months bourgeois propaganda has devoted immense attention to the events in Poland. It is trying to foist upon the world the idea that a revolt of workers against socialism occurred there. The headlines of the bourgeois press are repeating like a record: Poland--victory of workers; workers who dare to unite; test of Polish workers not finished yet; what turns workers away from communism, and so forth.

World reaction passes off its pious wishes for reality. Antisocialist forces are trying to misuse the dissatisfaction of the Polish working people, brought about by grave shortcomings in the economic-social situation and in the political and ideological sphere, for counterrevolutionary intentions. At the 18th CPCZ Central Committee session, Comrade Bilak said: "One has to recall that already on the basis of the defeat of counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia, the centers of international imperialism have come to the conclusion that they can hope to succeed only when they succeed in misusing mass dissatisfaction of the working people, when they will base their plans 'on plants,' so to speak."

When the world anticommunist centers were assessing the causes of the defeat of counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia at the end of the sixties, they saw one of the main causes in the fact that they did not succeed in turning the workers class against its own political force, against its own leading role in society. That absurd wish is the ideal of every antisocialist counterrevolution. TODAY INTERNATIONAL REACTION PUTS ITS MAIN HOPE IN POLAND IN THE RIGHTISTS ELEMENTS IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SO-CALLED SOLIDARITY. BOURGEOIS PRESS ABOUNDS WITH SPECULATIONS ABOUT HOW TO, WITH THE HELP OF THAT INSTITUTION, SMASH THE UNITY OF THE POLISH WORKERS CLASS, HOW TO ISOLATE IT FROM THE PARTY, HOW TO CREATE AN ANTISOCIALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND GRADUALLY, WITH THE HELP OF ITS PRESSURE ON STATE AND PARTY BODIES, CRIPPLE THE POWER BASE OF SOCIALISM.

The counterrevolutionary forces in Poland as well as abroad are passing themselves off as protagonists of Polish national interests. In an interview with the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL, L. Moczulski declared that the objective of his illegal "confederation" is an "independent, sovereign Poland," wrested away from the Soviet Union and deprived of the PZPR leadership. L. Walesa, about whom the West German DER SPIEGEL wrote that within a few months a subversive agitator has become a politician, osentatiously identified himself at the historical Krakow Square with the traditions of the struggle waged in the 18th century by Tadeusz Kosciuszko against czarist Russia. He "forgot" that the czarist regime in Russia was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution, that the Soviet Union drove Hitlerites out of its own country, also liberated Poland from the Nazi occupation, and that only in the unity of the socialist community--for the first time in centuries--the Polish nation achieved the guarantee of its national existence.

The West German DER SPIEGEL published a series about "the short independence of the Polish state in the 1918-46 period." What is short is obviously the memory of the authors and the publisher. They "forgot" that Polish independence was drowned in blood by Hitlerite Nazism in 1939 and that it was the victory of the Soviet Union and of the Polish units and partisans that fought at its side which not only renewed the independence of the Polish state, but also has given it firm internal and international socialist guarantees.

SELF-STYLED "FRIENDS OF POLAND" HAVE DECIDED TO ADAPT HISTORY TO THEIR TASTE. THE BOURGEOIS PRESS IS GLORIFYING CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI FOR SERVING A MASS ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1920 VICTORY OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY PILSUDSKI FORCES OVER THE RED ARMY. AT THE SAME TIME WHEN THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY IN POLAND IS SO "PATRIOTIC", SO-CALLED BISHOPRICS FOR THE "ADMINISTRATION OF FORMER EAST GERMAN DIOCESES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ODER AND NIESSE," THAT IS ON POLISH TERRITORY, ARE ACTIVE IN THE FRG FOR THE FOURTH DECADE NOW. THEY DO NOT RESPECT THE RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II AND THE DEFEAT OF THE HITLER REICH. THEY COOPERATE WITH REVANCHIST ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE CLAMORING FOR THE ANNEXATION TO THE FRG OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY OF POLAND, PART OF THE SOVIET UNION AND BORDER REGIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

F.J. Strauss, the recent candidate of the West German Christian Democrats for the post of federal chancellor, has several times demonstrated his sympathy for the organizers of strikes in Poland. Some time ago the same gentleman said at a "meeting of German Silesians": "Your beautiful Silesia suffered the greatest wound in the wake of World War II when it was, under the Soviet Union's pressure, incorporated into Poland's power sphere and the larger part of the population was ousted from the homeland...."

It is characteristic that the antisocialist phenomena in Poland have raised a big wave of sympathy precisely among West German revanchist circles. Any hope for weakening socialism in Poland is stirring up in them new hopes for the dreamed of annexation of Polish territory, for a new "revenge."

But it is not only antisocialism forces in those circles who are trying to exploit as much as they can for their interests in connection with the Polish events. What other forces in particular are involved will be discussed in the second part of our article.

PRAGUE WARNS REAGAN ON CONTINUING CARTER POLICY

LD262310 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Ronald Reagan, as announced a few days ago, selected the former four-star general and supreme commander of NATO in Western Europe, Alexander Haig, to be secretary of state. In connection with this and with the approach of 20 January, the day Republican Reagan replaces Democrat Carter as president, there has been increased speculation in the foreign press about the future foreign policy course of the United States. The first foreign political steps of the Reagan administration will show what kind of policy this will be.

There are, however, certain things on which there can be no dispute. In the first place, it is a fact that among the factors that contributed to James Carter's fall were not only his failures in the domestic field but also, to no lesser extent, his foreign political actions. The basic failing of the outgoing American administration was its notion that it is possible to alter the existing ratio of forces on a worldwide scale in favor of the United States--the attempt to alter the military equilibrium which has become the foundation of the political equilibrium in international relations. One of the principal aims of the so-called Carter doctrine was to put the United States in a position in which it could do as it pleases and act vis-a-vis the socialist countries from a position of strength.

This was and still is a policy that runs counter to the realities of the time. Carter and his ruling circle failed to achieve the foreign political aims they set for themselves. They were forced to recognize that the world is not going round in accordance with the desires of the White House; far from it.

Carter is departing. The ruling circle is changing. There occurred or will occur in the immediate future various changes in the top layers of the power apparatus, including the Department of State. People around Ronald Reagan have already let it be known that the foreign policy of the new president will be characterized by a continuity with that of the previous administration. But Carter's foreign policy meant new armaments, the frustration of the SALT II treaty and, in particular, a substantial worsening of American-Soviet relations. The Carter administration jettisoned all that had been built in Soviet-American relations over a period of years. The president himself gave the green light to armaments and he literally hypnotized himself with his hysterical anti-Soviet actions. He thus substantially weakened the basis of the Soviet-American dialogue. Nevertheless, he failed to destroy that dialogue.

The new Reagan team talks about continuity in American foreign policy. Continuity does not mean a simple repetition of what has been. It should not therefore mean the assumption by the new president of the dangerous strategic aims contained in the so-called Carter doctrine. It should also not be a repetition of Carter's policy, full of U-turns, a policy endangering world peace.

The future will show how Soviet-American relations will develop. The Soviet Union is ready to develop all the positive factors created in the past. It only depends on Washington's willingness to recognize the fact that the time when an American president could determine the destinies of states and continents from the oval office is irretrievably in the past.

VANDALS 'DEFILE' MEMORIAL FOR SOVIET SOLDIERS

AU241038 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 51 17 Dec 80 p 7

[Letter by reader Mojmir Kocian from Prague's 5th District in the column "Letters, Views, Polemics, Reverberations": "Indifference?"]

[Text] Between Kampa and Klarov, on the corner of U Luzickeho Seminare and Misenska streets a modest, mute witness of the liberation of Prague by the Red Army has been preserved since May 1945. It is a plain road sign, which served the soldiers of the Red Army as an orientation aid in the maze of narrow streets between Mala Strana and Smichov. About 400 meters from there, in Chotek Park, the crew of one of the first tanks, that of the young Soviet tank commander Goncharenko, died while liberating Prague. Mankind can never repay the Soviet Union's millions of victims who fell while liberating enslaved nations from fascism. We will never repay the tens of thousands of victims who fell while liberating our homeland and Prague...

That is why it is so sad that, despite all that, there are vandals capable of defiling a modest memorial of the liberation of Prague. For several months now I have been walking by the house in the U Luzickeho Seminare Street, which is administered by the Academy of Graphic Arts in Prague, with a feeling of shame over the vandalism of the first sort of people and the indifference of those in charge of protecting and preserving historical monuments. After all, groups of tourists and visitors are walking by. Is a repair really so complicated? How long will we still have to look at the damaged memorial plaque?

CPCZ DAILY PRAISES RECENT GENSCHER PRAGUE VISIT

AU241058 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 80 p 6

[Karel Doudera article: "We Comment: Useful Dialogue"]

[Text] The 3-day visit paid by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, to Czechoslovakia, has elicited attention also outside the two countries' borders. [paragraph continues]

Even before the visit, the Western press noted that this would be the first visit by a government member of one of the NATO member countries to a socialist country following the NATO session in Brussels. That session, as is known, did not calm the current international situation in any way; on the contrary, it has rather made it more dramatic. However, the Bonn Government--with this visit by Minister Genscher that originally was to take place a year ago--wanted to demonstrate that even in a complex international situation it intends to keep the "door to the east" open and continue the policy of detente. Therefore, this time the visit exceeds the framework of bilateral relations. The fact alone that after many hours of negotiations with foreign minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, H.D. Genscher was also received for talks by Gustav Husak, the president of the republic, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal, and Peter Colotka, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, shows what importance the Czechoslovak side attaches to this visit.

It is natural that issues were discussed--in particular and in great detail--pertaining to mutual political, economic and cultural relations between the two neighboring states, which are being developed on the basis of the CSSR-FRG treaty on mutual relations of December 1973 and of the joint declaration adopted during the visit by G. Husak to the FRG in April 1978. The talks revealed that despite the considerable progress which has already been achieved, all possibilities that exist in the economic sphere for developing cooperation, especially in production cooperation, have not by far been exhausted. Also as regards cultural relations, which are already extensive today, the possibility exists for expanding them still further. However, ups-and-downs, are occurring in political relations. The conclusion of the first sister-city bond between Kosice and Wuppertal is certainly an encouraging omen, but one cannot ignore the fact that in the past 12 months there were fewer political contacts than previously. Genscher's visit provides the hope that they will intensify anew.

However, the importance of the visit of the FRG minister of foreign affairs to Czechoslovakia is, above all, in that it provided the opportunity for a broad exchange of views on topical questions of the current complex international situation. The FRG is a firm component of NATO and the policy of the federal government is in full harmony with its affiliation with this pact. Minister Genscher did not omit emphasizing that. Therefore, differing views on some topical international problems necessarily had to pop up during the talks. Nevertheless, the fact that the two sides exchanged views on these issues and that they also expressed the willingness to contribute to solving those problems on which they have differing views is the positive feature of these talks.

It really was a useful dialogue. Minister Genscher could convince himself that Czechoslovakia is interested in an all-round development of cooperation with the Bundesrepublik and that it also intends to do everything possible during the current strained international situation for calm, for the process of detente to continue, for achieving progress in the arms limitation negotiations and for pushing through effective disarmament.

The fact that during these talks--as Minister Genscher said at a press conference in Prague--a view was shared that even in an aggravated international situation it is necessary to continue the policy of detente and fulfill the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, then this open exchange of views on current international problems could contribute its share to the de-dramatization of the strained international situation and to the improvement of the political climate in Europe.

PELIKAN CALLS FOR WESTERN PRESSURE TO SAVE POLAND

LD241153 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 14-15 Dec 80 Culture Supplement p v

[Article by former head of Czechoslovak television Jiri Pelikan: "Two Contradictions of Polish Crisis"]

[Text] While the public is wondering anxiously whether the Soviet troops amassed round the Polish borders are taking action to stifle the hope of the Polish summer, and some optimists are convinced that nothing of the kind could happen, the Soviet intervention has already begun--a large-scale political, economic and even military intervention, in the form of an escalation of attacks on the workers movement and the new trade union Solidarity, a menacing concentration of tanks and divisions of the Polish borders and a Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow to discuss Poland's domestic situation as a "common cause of the socialist countries," with a return to the famous Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty.

The aim of all this is clear: "The normalization of Poland," which for the present Soviet leaders means a return to the Soviet model, that is, to the single party's complete monopoly on power. Because for them the existence of an independent trade union, of strikes, of autonomous impetuses from students, peasants and journalists, of an important role for the church and of the loosening of censorship is not normal and should be stifled. There must be no doubts about this: Moscow is unwilling not only to support but even to tolerate changes in the direction of the democratization of the "socialist" system. It is unwilling to accept the "Finlandization" of Eastern Europe, as Jacek Kuron suggested, or its "Yugoslavization," as [editor of Rome paper LA REPUBBLICA] Eugenio Scalfari hoped following the conclusion of the Gdansk agreements.

Having established that the Polish situation is "dangerous" to the USSR's interests--which as far as Moscow is concerned are equivalent to socialism--it was a matter of forcing all the Warsaw Pact countries' leadership groups to adopt the same stance and to impose it on the Polish leaders too. This is what happened at the Moscow summit, and we must admit that it happened more successfully than at the similar summit in Warsaw in 1968, when Ceausescu refused, for reasons of principle, to attend any Warsaw Pact meetings to discuss the internal situation of any country or party and when the main defendant, Alexander Dubcek, refused to sit in the dock before the court. This time Ceausescu was present, though his presence is attributed to his moderating role, and even Kania accepted the invitation, attributing to the summit the nature of a collective council having the right to issue a verdict when socialism is in danger and then to take joint action to safeguard it.

I do not know whether to consider tragic or cynical the opinion (or interpretation) of some U.S. and Western observers, for whom the summit indicates Moscow's desire to refrain from military action because the final communique mentions "confidence" in the Polish party leadership and the Polish communists with regard to their resolving the present "difficulties" on their own. Have they not read the corresponding communiques of the meetings with Czechoslovak leaders in 1968? Have they found any Soviet documents announcing the military invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or Afghanistan in 1979?

Of course the Moscow meeting took no formal decision on a military intervention in Poland by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. Such a decision can only be taken by the Soviet leadership. All the military preparations for an intervention are ready, but the Soviet leaders have not yet decided how to eliminate the Polish heresy. The important thing for them is that it be eliminated. Obviously they would rather this happened without a direct intervention by the Soviet divisions, because Moscow is well aware of the tragic consequences that could result from its intervention in Poland. [paragraph continues]

This is why all the outside pressure is aimed at forcing the Polish leadership group to change its policy of compromise and to regain the ground lost since the late-August Gdansk agreements. But this implies isolating the party leadership even further from the people's masses and making it govern against the people, through repression, thus eliminating all hopes of a "regeneration." If, under Soviet pressure, the leadership group tries to backtrack too far, that is, to return to the situation that existed before the Polish summer and the Gdansk agreements, there will certainly be resistance and in my opinion there could be a civil war. But civil war would lead inevitably to a Soviet intervention! This is why it is not enough to demand that "the Polish people resolve their own problems." It is necessary to demand also that these problems be resolved on the basis of a compromise between the government and the people in the spirit of the Gdansk agreements. This is the only way to avoid civil war in Poland and therefore a Soviet intervention. And so we come to the two major paradoxes and contradictions in the Polish situation. First: If the Polish movement is echoed in the other Eastern bloc countries, this will alarm Moscow even more and could prompt its direct intervention. But can the movement restrict itself to Poland alone and the other Eastern bloc peoples simply watch it sympathetically, without any specific action in solidarity? But, we might ask ourselves, on the basis of the events in 1953 in East Berlin, 1956 in Hungary and Poland and 1968 in Czechoslovakia, can the regeneration movement survive if limited to a single country? Unfortunately the facts speak clearly: Hitherto such movements have always been stifled by a Soviet intervention or by a national repressive apparatus. The second contradiction is this: The regeneration movement cannot achieve real changes, economic and political reforms in a socialist direction, without finding alliances within the ruling party and without involving the party itself and the state institutions in the democratization process. This is why we must welcome and value any overtures by the party to the grassroots movement, any mutual cooperation between the party and the independent Solidarity trade union, and hope that this trend can be reflected at the coming extraordinary party congress in spring 1981. But if this does happen Moscow could cause a split in the party, by inciting "healthy forces" to oppose the majority and the compromise policy, and since these "healthy forces" will undoubtedly be in a minority and isolated, it could offer its "fraternal assistance." In this situation the only way to avoid a civil war and therefore a Soviet intervention is a political compromise: The party would retain its leading role, but with new ways of exercising it, by accepting the independent trade union as a partner with which to find solutions to Polish society's economic and political problems. The reform will take place--but gradually, without traumatic clashes, but also without any returns to administrative measures and repression. Through this policy--and only through this policy--it will be possible to gain the citizens' trust, without which it is impossible to emerge from the present economic crisis. There is much talk at present about the need for granting economic aid to Poland. Both the European Council and the European Parliament, as well as all the EEC governments, have spoken in favor of such aid, on the basis of Poland's requests. This is positive, and we can only hope that these decisions will be implemented as soon as possible. But further credits and other forms of economic aid will not bring positive results, as has already occurred in the past, unless the regeneration process is continued. Any kind of economic support for the Polish regime aimed at reverting the situation to the past would be contrary to the Polish people's interests and therefore unacceptable to the European democratic forces. Is it therefore right to proclaim the danger of a Soviet intervention and a "normalization" of Poland? In 1968 nobody spoke of such a danger, and even Dubcek tried to minimize it to avoid provoking anti-Soviet feelings and to avoid clashing with Moscow. [paragraph continues]

We realized too late that such a stance only encouraged within the Soviet leadership group the advocates of military solutions who felt sure that there would be no resistance and that the West and even the communist and socialist parties would limit themselves to verbal protests. Now the situation is different: The European Community and the United States have warned the Soviets of the grave consequences that would result from an intervention against Poland. Even the socialist and social democratic parties have expressed their solidarity with the Polish workers and their opposition to any attempt at military intervention. The Italian Communist Party [PCI] has heeded the appeals made to its special responsibility and has adopted a fairly clear stance, which we fully appreciate but which Moscow certainly does not like. The PCI has always avoided the eventuality of a "rupture" with the CPSU and on this pretext has often avoided adopting an unambiguous stance on various Eastern bloc problems; but in the event of a Soviet intervention such a "rupture" would be logical and necessary, though not painless for a section of the grass roots. Some lacerations and disagreements within the party and the difficulties in its foreign connections will be counterbalanced by the positive effects that the clear repudiation of the Soviet intervention would have on leftwing unity on the international plane and also in Italy and on the credibility of the Communist Party's democratic swing.

All this must not make us forget what Poland means today. We must not be satisfied with the mere fact that Moscow is not intervening with its tanks. We must wait and see first whether the Polish workers and the entire Polish people have the opportunity--like any other European people--to participate in their country's public life, to defend their interests and to develop the economy. To guarantee this it is necessary to remove the cordon sanitaire within which Moscow, Prague and Berlin are trying to enclose Poland, and there must be an end to any kind of threat of Soviet military intervention.

In particular the USSR must be warned that the use of the East German military forces against Poland would be a violation of the postwar agreements on Germany and an intolerable provocation for the Polish people and the whole of antifascist Europe.

In 1936 the communist and socialist parties raised the banner of the defense of Madrid as a defense of freedom and democracy throughout Europe. They were right: Following the fall of Madrid came the fall of Prague, then Warsaw, then Paris...and then democracy throughout Europe, as the victim of Nazi aggression. Today Europe's democracy and peace must be defended in Warsaw.

BRIEFS

AFGHAN MINISTER--Mohammad Ebrahim 'Azim, minister of public health of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, ended his visit to the CSSR on 12 December. During his stay he discussed the possibilities for cooperation between the CSSR and Afghanistan in the sphere for the 1981-83 period. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

SET OF MEASURES SEMINAR--A Slovakia-wide seminar that opened in Bratislava on 11 December was devoted to the current problems pertaining to implementation of the Set of Measures for Improving the Management System of the National Economy after 1980 in practice. The seminar was attended by lecturers of the CPSL Central Committee and the CSSR Socialist Academy, heads of consultation centers of the houses of political education, and representatives of selected enterprises and institutions. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

HONECKER GREETS BREZHNEV ON 74TH BIRTHDAY

AU241230 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Dec 80 p 1

[ND dispatch: "Cordial Congratulations for Leonid Brezhnev: Erich Honecker Telegram on 74th Birthday"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following telegram to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

It is a great pleasure for me to convey to you on your 74th birthday the fraternal greetings and congratulations of the SED Central Committee, of its Politburo and my personal most heartfelt wishes.

We thank you for your outstanding untiring activities for securing and consolidating world peace, for the strengthening of socialism and social progress and wish you from the bottom of my heart good health and creative vigor as well as further great successes in preparing for the 26th party congress of Lenin's glorious party.

HONECKER, STOPH SEND CONDOLENCES ON KOSYGIN'S DEATH

LD201530 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1339 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 20 Dec (ADN)--On the occasion of the death of Aleksey Kosygin, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers have sent a telegram of condolences to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The telegram reads as follows:

On the death of our friend and comrade, Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, we convey to you, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR, our deeply felt condolences.

We knew and regarded Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin as an outstanding official of the party of the land of Lenin and of the international communist workers' movement, as an internationally respected politician and statesman who strove with the weight of his entire personality for the noble cause of socialism and communism.

As a consistent Marxist-Leninist, ardent internationalist and outstanding organizer, Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin rendered enduring services to the all-round strengthening of the Soviet state and the enhancement of its international authority in the service of peace and security of peoples.

His untiring efforts for the constant consolidation of the community of socialist states and the fraternal alliance between our two parties, peoples and states will forever be remembered in the GDR. We will always honor the memory of Aleksey Nikolayevich.

Please convey our profound sympathy to the members of the family of the dear departed.

HONECKER GREETS SFRY'S MOJSOV ON BIRTHDAY

AU241231 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Dec 80 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations to Lazar Mojsov: SED Central Committee on the 60th birthday of the Yugoslav politician"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The SED Central Committee has conveyed a congratulatory message to Lazar Mojsov, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The telegram which has been signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker reads as follows:

On your 60th birthday I congratulate you cordially on behalf of the SED Central Committee and of myself.

On your day of honor we wish you good health, creative vigor and personal well-being.

We combine with this the wish that the comradely relations between the SED and the LCY may continue to further develop and gain strength in the interest of peace and socialism.

HONECKER CONGRATULATES CASTRO ON REELECTION

LD202318 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1816 GMT 20 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 20 Dec (ADN)--In a telegram signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, the SED Central Committee congratulates Fidel Castro on his relection as first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee. It says inter alia: "The communists and all working people in the GDR consider you an outstanding official of the Cuban and international workers movement, as an internationally respected statesman and close friend of our people. We are convinced that the fraternal friendship which links our parties, states and peoples will grow stronger for the benefit of peace and socialism. We wish you, Dear Comrade Fidel Castro, all communists and the fraternal Cuban people much success in implementing the historic tasks which the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party has set for socialist construction.

EXTRADITION FROM FRG OF ALLEGED KILLER REQUESTED

LD231546 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Berling, 22 Dec (ADN)--The GDR prosecutor general, Dr Josef Streit, on Monday again asked the judicial authorities in Berling (West) to comply with his request of 5 November 1980 for the extradition of Egon Bunge, a fugitive GDR citizen, and to state the time and place for the handing over of the accused. Bunge is strongly suspected of having deliberately and treacherously shot dead, on 4 November 1980, on GDR territory, Ulrich Steinhauer who was performing his duties as a member of the GDR Border Troops.

In support of the extradition request, representatives of the GDR prosecutor general handed over to the prosecutor at the regional court in Berlin (West) certified copies of the minutes recording the investigation at the scene of the crime and a record of the clues secured and pictures, as well as the forensic report and the technical experts' report prepared by the Institute of Forensic Medicine at the Humboldt University and by the Criminal Investigation Institute of the German People's Police, and transcripts recording the interrogation of witnesses.

HONECKER LETTER, KRENZ ADDRESS TO FDJ SESSION

LD211034 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 19 Dec (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in a letter to the 13th session of the FDJ Central Council has expressed his gratitude for the activities and achievements to date of the GDR youth organization in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. The FDJ members have thus once again proved to be helpers and the fighting reserve of the SED, the letter says. Erich Honecker replied thus to a letter from the FDJ Central Council session of the previous day which reported on the results of the youth organization's activities since the beginning of the "party congress initiative of the FDJ" this year and which explained the new goal for 1981.

In his letter Erich Honecker paid tribute to the performance of FDJ members as being of the greatest importance for the national economy and as an expression of the communist attitude to work. With its project for the coming year, the FDJ continues in a worthy manner its revolutionary traditions in the strengthening and protection of the GDR.

Krenz Address

LD211036 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 19 Dec (ADN)--The 11th quadrennial congress of the GDR youth organization, the FDJ, will be held in Berlin 2-5 June 1981. This was decided by the FDJ Central Council on Friday at the end of its 13th session, lasting 2 days, in Berlin. At the same time the agenda for the congress--the top body of the organization--was determined as well as the guidelines for the election of the delegates adopted.

Egon Krenz, first secretary of the Central Council, read to the FDJ leading forum a letter from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. In it Erich Honecker described the FDJ's new goals aimed at the further consolidation of the increase in the GDR's performance in 1981, set forth in a reply to a letter from the FDJ Central Council session of the previous day, as a worthy reply to the 13th SED Central Committee session.

During the 2 days of discussions FDJ members from every sphere of the national economy, from schools and universities, reported on the way in which they intend to realize the new and lofty goals for 1981 in their basic organizations. Members of youth work brigades confirmed the will of their collectives to work for an additional day's output until the 10th SED Congress (April 1981).

In his summing up speech, Egon Krenz described the lively discussion as an expression of the way in which the GDR youth is joining the preparations for the 10th SED Congress, the greatest people's initiative in GDR history, with specifically calculable economic achievements and revolutionary vigilance.

SED'S SINDERMANN MEETS WITH COMMUNIST YOUTHS

LD272232 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Former members of the Communist Youth Association of Germany and of the FDJ as well as other young people met in Dresden today with Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and President of the People's Chamber, for an exchange of experiences. The exchange served the further research and dissemination of the history of revolutionary urban youth. Horst Sindermann stressed the most important training for political education work among the young people of today is constant activity on the basis of party decisions as well as communist organizational standards and close friendship with the Soviet Union.

BRIEFS

FDGB DELEGATION IN PDRY--An FDGB delegation under the leadership of Kurt Zahn, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB Federal Executive, has arrived in Aden for a visit of several days to the PDRY. Leading representatives of the General Trade Union Federation of the PDRY cordially welcomed the FDGB delegation at Aden airport. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Dec 80 p 2 AU] Documents deepening the fraternal relations between the FDGB and the General Trade Union Federation of the PDRY were signed in Aden. At the end of the visit of an FDGB delegation under the leadership of Kurt Zahn, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB Federal Executive, (Sultan ad-Da'ush), secretary general of the PDRY's General Trade Union Federation, praised the solidaristic attitude of the FDGB toward the just struggle of the Arab peoples for a durable peace in the Middle East, as well as the active solidarity of the GDR working people with the PDRY working people. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

GASPAR DELIVERS CLOSING ADDRESS AT TU CONGRESS

LD142104 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1650 GMT 14 Dec 80

["Excerpts" from closing address by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council, at the 24th congress of Hungarian trade unions in Budapest on 14 December--recorded]

[Text] During the preparatory work and here in congress too, the slogan which is the motto of our work--as is written up here--"Unite in Thought, Unite in Deed" has been realized. I believe that work in unison has been realized well.

Now, just before the close of the congress, one can state one thing very definitely: that the work of the Hungarian trade unions manifests new and qualitative trademarks. I believe this is a good thing; it provides strength for future work because there is no greater (?satisfaction) for the working man than to see the results of his work. The many hundreds of thousands of activitsts and working men who, within the framework of the trade unions, perform their work and tasks for the benefit of socialist society can acknowledge with satisfaction that great efforts and work were worthwhile because we have made progress. This is not a minor matter.

I believe that we may say with assurance today that the new trademarks are here and that the trade union movement manifests these trademarks nowadays more and more vigorously. This is a very good thing.

How is this manifested? Basically, there are two matters here. The reports, written and spoken, the debate and comrade Kadar's address all included the fundamental determinant which defines our further development: that the Hungarian trade union movement has truly occupied its place and role in our society. It is a factor in the life of Hungarian society, it has concrete work to perform and its work is useful and indispensable. It performs its own work independently. This is necessary so that all future and true trade union movements can be (?dealt with) on merit and successfully. This is one of the manifestations; it already exists.

The second manifestation is that the Hungarian trade union movement has become more harmonious and unified. There were times when we somehow carried out one of the tasks, namely in supporting the work in building the economy, but the representation or maintenance of interests or the work of education were forced into the background. Today, one of the qualitative indicatiors of the Hungarian trade union movement is that we are able to satisfy varied trade union tasks in harmony, with better unity, more successfully and more usefully.

The situation of the trade union movement must also be judged realistically. If we begin with socialist trademarks in our work--and today unanimity is good--we may create the impression that we have reached the pinnacles. We are not; it is merely that conditions are better and our strenght is greater. Trade union work must not be judged on the basis of whether or not it is able to satisfy all demands; nor is this a measure of its value. If it is able to satisfy all demands, than it is good; if not, then it is not good. There is a willingness on our part, as well as in public opinion, to do this. We must see and understand precisely what is at issue here.

No, comrades, the trade union movement is a movement which has fitted into society. It is an organic part of society. The trade union movement exerts an influence on the development of society and the development of society exerts an influence on the work of the trade unions. There is a mutual influence at work here and this is how we advance in the work of construction. Thus the test is not whether we are capable of meeting all the existing demands. This is not the test.

The test is whether we have succeeded in achieving that which is possible under the given circumstances, and we can say quite safely, yes, we are doing that, even if we cannot meet all the demands.

What obligations are involved in our increased social weight and role? It obliges us, comrades, that now taking the given circumstances into consideration, we should seek--no, not seek--let us utilize, because they already exist--those effective means with whose aid we can make the activities of the trade unions even more successful and useful.

What is involved here? We have two such fundamental means at present. First, there is the expansion of our legal rights connected with the development of industrial democracy, workplace democracy, and this is known to the comrades. Second, there is the increased authority and scope of the stewards. I would like to call our own attention to the fact that we must not treat either of these as goals in themselves or even as goals; these are only means. I would also like to call our own attention to the need to stop talking about the expansion of the authority and scope of activity of the stewards. This is something that already exists and that has been realized. It is not the expansion of their authority that we should talk about. Rather, what we must do is to make use of it, apply it and utilize it effectively in the course of work. This is why the means of the authority of the stewards exists.

Comrades, there are more and more cases when in disputes involving the labor law the worker who is in the right does not get his right recognized. Yet this is something that we have stated together on a number of occasions; it is a fundamental task of the trade union movement to stand up for the worker when he is in the right and to tell him when he is wrong. However, it is not right that in 30 or 40 percent of labor disputes within the enterprises these are dealt with in such a way that they have to be submitted to higher forums, where it turns out that these cases should have been settled in the factory and, what is more, by admitting that the worker is in the right. What is involved here is not that the trade union should defend the interests of the worker who does not carry out his obligations and who is in the wrong. We must express ourselves clearly and unequivocally when we say that the most important man in the trade union movement within the factory is the steward, acting as a link between the members and the leadership. He is on the spot and it is natural that he is knowledgeable and knows what is involved. We must not, comrades, permit people to be treated unjustly.

We have stated the following on a number of occasions but this is something that cannot be emphasized enough: For a working man it is the class character of society which is lost at the moment when he realizes that he is in the right and his right is not recognized. In that case it is no use for us to speak about the superior virtues of the socialist system, its goodness and justness in general terms; there is no justice in general, justice is always specific. We have often said--have often proclaimed--that great care must be taken that those who possess the opportunity, who possess power, and who are dealing with the cases of workers must make very good use of their means and possibilities. There are signs once again that many people imagine that they are acting in line with a higher interest when they ignore the specific situation of an individual worker and transgress rights. No, comrades, we cannot, must not and will not agree with this approach. It seems as if this tendency has been on the increase lately, this belief that those who have rights, authority and power on however small a scale possess all the rights and no obligations by virtue of their power. No, power does not entitle one to do everything, merely to deal with people's problems decently and honorably. Yes, this is what power entitles one to do and it obliges us to do our work decently and honorably.

When the economic conditions became a little more difficult, when it was no longer possible to make a profit so easily, when it appeared that there was no profit at the end of the year; in an interesting way, with some sort of inverted logic, newspaper articles appeared saying: Yes, unfortunately, in this or that large factory, or in an even bigger factory, they did not distribute anything under profit sharing. One stops for a moment and says: This is really shocking. However, when one starts to think, one realizes that the logic is as follows: In a certain factory they failed to make a profit and consequently it has not been possible to distribute profits. This is where something very important comes into contact with national politics; namely, that it is not the leading bodies, the leading organs, government or parliament or the Presidential Council or the National Trade Union Council or individuals who decide who gets what and when. This does not depend on the good will of an individual or an organ, the priority given to an individual branch, occupation or whatever; rather, this depends on the situation at that place of work.

If we understand it correctly--and I think we do--this is a very important thing. Comrades, a long time ago our great working class poet, Attila Jozsef, dreamed a little utopistically but beautifully about the power of the working class, socialism, and when our beautiful capacity, order, will come about. Comrades, I think, we must interpret this as meaning that the socialist society is the power of the workers; it is the system of order. We must not imagine that we are the center of the world, but we can say with a clear conscience that what we have done during these 24 years, both in general terms and specifically as a trade union movement, is not something that we have to be ashamed of. We can state this at any time.

In conclusion I would like to thank the comrade delegates for having taken part in the work and for having made this congress as good as it has been and, in the last resort, I think that it has had some value.

I express my thanks to our international class brothers and to all those who have accepted our invitation and have sent their delegates here. We ask the comrade delegates and the guest comrades as well to tell everyone at home about what they have experienced and seen. We ask the foreign comrades to do this, without making things appear better or (?worse) than they were. And we ask the comrade delegates to carry on with the work that takes us further forward and makes our situation even better.

The Hungarian trade union movement is well aware of its historic responsibility toward the fate of the country, the working people and its membership and it is consistently carrying out the tasks which have to be solved. Our aims, principles and intentions are completely clear; we have the means and methods to serve these purposes even more effectively and even better. Let us all do even more to ensure that the people of this country who have suffered so much may live in peace, security, in growing prosperity and in a richer and more colorful way of life. They deserve all this.

We should not forget for a single minute that when we are carrying out our work in the interests of the prosperity of our country and the happiness of the people, we also have a great responsibility as to how we use our power in dealing with the opportunities granted us by history and whether we exploit them in a sensible way and in a socially useful way. By so doing we are helping the struggle of our international class brothers who live and work in very difficult conditions and who are still struggling and suffering for their very existence.

I express my thanks to the comrades who have taken part and to everyone for the work they have done to ensure the success of the congress. I wish many successes and good work to all comrade delegates once they have returned home. I wish everyone a very happy new year, a lot of happiness, many successes and a lot of good luck. [applause]

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETS, APPROVES ECONOMIC PLANS

LD251550 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 24 Dec (MTI)--The Hungarian Council of Ministers held a session on Wednesday. It heard and approved the report of Deputy Prime Minister Lajos Faluvegi, president of the National Planning Office, on the conclusion of the Hungarian-Soviet talks for harmonizing the national economic plans for 1981-85. The government also accepted the report of Deputy Prime Minister Gyorgy Aczel on the session of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental cultural cooperation commission.

The government accepted resolutions serving the implementation of the 6th Five-Year Plan law, as well as the budget for next year. It approved the plan of the national economy for 1981 and the credit policy guidelines, credit limits assisting its realization.

The Council of Ministers discussed and accepted the energy economy programme of the 6th Five-Year Plan. Quickening the development of energy saving structures, reducing the energy requirement of production and exploiting the replacement possibilities of imported combustibles is among the high priority tasks of the next period in every branch of the national economy.

The government discussed and approved the central development programme for the production of pharmaceutical products, plant protecting agents and intermediers [as received] (basic materials). Realization of the programme for the next ten years is aimed at increasing the world market competitiveness of pharmaceutical industry and of the production of plant protecting agents, expanding the basic material base of the two production branches.

The Council of Ministers regulated the tasks and sphere of authority of the minister of industry in a resolution, and modified the scope of duties of the state board for materials and prices, and brought a decree for modernizing the activity of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

The government modified its 1975 decree issued for the implementation of the social security act. Beginning from 1981--assuring a suitable transition until the end of 1990--the minimal service time necessary for old-age pensions, and the degree of bonuses which may be included in the retirement fund, will change. The so-called annual three percent bonus urging for further work will cease in the non-physical spheres of work. The Council of Ministers agreed with the minister of labour for modifying the system of wages-nomenclature as of January 1, 1981.

The Council of Ministers decided to terminate the road building trust as of December 31, 1980. The Ministry of Communications and Posts will supervise the 14 newly formed companies.

The government modified its decree on certain questions of the labour relations of administrative and jurisdiction workers.

The working plan for the first half of 1981 of the Council of Ministers, the government committees, and the people's Central Control Commission was also discussed and accepted at the session.

DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED

LD281920 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 28 Dec (MTI)--The Hungarian National Technical Development Committee (NTDC), in its capacity as consulting, advisory and in certain cases guiding organ of the Council of Ministers, is cooperating with the ministries and national agencies in elaborating, coordinating and implementing the technical development policy, research and development plans. The science political guiding principles of the HSWP Central Committee and the central resolutions following thereof have broadened the scope of activity of the NTDC.

Chairman Gyula Szeker spoke to MTI about the committee's new tasks and activity. "In these days when we are curbing the economic growth in order to restore the foreign economic equilibrium, special importance is being attached to technical development. We are forced to speed up technical development as we must produce more valuable products with less input. Technical research and development, therefore, calls for the more attentive work, more intellectual energy, to which also the examples of not only Japan, the FRG and Switzerland but also of a number of medium-developed countries testify."

"It is very important that we should make reasonable selection among the various research-development tasks. To some extent the NTDC is capable of influencing the R and D activity of the companies and institutes through allocation of the finances available to it. This year the committee contributed almost 1,800 million forints to the companies' own R and D funds. Considerable assistance has been given to the pharmaceutical industry, computer engineering, telecommunications, machine engineering and protein management industries. It is necessary to help financially certain research areas because a company or institute alone may not have sufficient finances of its own to back research or development projects which promise to be of great scientific, technical or strategical import for the national economy in the long run."

Gyula Szeker continued to point out: "The NTDC is the coordinator of the national license policy. My opinion is that the knowledge we can buy from abroad, under reasonable conditions, should be bought from there instead of being again invented by us. Consistent observation of this principle will by all means promote more efficient exploitation of the domestic research and development capacity. Also in cases of license purchase the companies may apply for financial assistance to the NTDC. We have, for example, given considerable financial help to the purchase of licenses that have eventually started the domestic computer engineering industry. This, in turn, allowed us to join the socialist countries' cooperation. The final result is that today we import computers for hard currency in rare singular cases only. This year we allocated 300 million forints to help the license, know-how and prototype purchases of the companies. We have imported over a dozen up-to-date technologies."

"During the company's activity extending to almost 20 years in all about two thousand studies have been prepared on the state of the various industrial or scientific branches and most of those analyses were actually used in industrial practice. Still, I think that there are too many studies and although they will continue to be indispensible, in the future efforts will primarily concentrate on technical-scientific forecasts, development concepts, on the resolution of problems affecting several branches like chemical processing, automation, material conveyance and packaging. We intend to find the optimum answer or alternative solutions concerning further development tendencies in such vital industries as electronics, chemistry, machine engineering, food processing, transport and water management", concluded his statement Gyula Szeker, chairman of the National Technical Development Committee.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECRETARY REVIEWS OUTGOING YEAR

LD281815 Budapest in English to Europe 2100 GMT 27 Dec 80

["Year-end" interview of Hungarian Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Janos Nagy by Budapest Radio's Judy Nagy; place and time not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] The year 1980 has been extremely complex, eventful and perhaps difficult in international politics. How would you describe the many trends in international affairs in 1980?

[Answer] I agree that 1980 has been a difficult year in Europe and in the world but I hasten to add that we must not lose sight of positive factors either. We must not be overwhelmed by the voices of those who for long have advocated the death of detente, who, using Shakespeare's words, would like to bury peaceful coexistence, not to praise it. How would I describe the many trends of international affairs in 1980? I would say that the influence of circles which aim at military superiority and the reorientation of international relations has increased but detente, in spite of indisputable setbacks, withstood the pressure and proved to have firm roots, first and foremost in Europe. That is why the main characteristic of international affairs in 1980 has been and is the simultaneous presence of the factors of detente and tension. In Western countries it is often said that all the ills in the world today are due to the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to Afghanistan upon the request of the legal government of that country. Nothing could be further from the truth. The calendar of events leading to negative changes in the international situation did not begin with Afghanistan. The process of the slowing down of detente began years ago. It was not this year but in 1978 that the NATO countries at their meeting in Washington decided to launch a new spiral of the arms race, to accelerate military build-up. The inherent dangers of this policy became obvious for all at the end of 1979 when a decision was taken in Brussels to station American medium-range missiles on the territory of certain West European countries, and all this under the false pretext of Soviet military threat.

Actually, as I have mentioned earlier, the leading powers of NATO, to the great disappointment of some of their own, smaller allies, too, want to change the existing international balance of forces. The American secretary of defense announced publicly that the United States hopes to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union by 1985. In the summer of 1979 President Carter accepted publicly in Vienna that a military balance of forces does exist between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Does anyone believe that the Warsaw Pact, even if it wanted to, was able to change this situation so basically during the 6 months between the Brezhnev-Carter meeting in Vienna and the NATO meeting in Brussels that NATO had no other option but the deployment of a totally new family of nuclear missiles on our continent? Efforts aimed at changing the present balance of forces, futile as they may be, are very dangerous. This is the real source of tension. This has led to the slowing down of arms control, to the deterioration of the atmosphere in East-West relations, but the balance sheet I just mentioned has more hopeful pages as well. Peoples, governments, political parties and organizations who realistically assess the dangers of further deterioration, realize that there may be differing views on the main elements of detente but there is no rational alternative to detente itself. Thanks to such a constructive approach, the anti-Soviet embargo so vehemently declared by the United States at the beginning of the year has practically met with fiasco as the neutral capitalist states of Europe and countries like France, the Federal Republic of Germany and others, were not prepared to sacrifice their own interests, were not prepared to turn their backs on peaceful and mutually advantageous East-West cooperation. And in all, I am not totally disillusioned in the outgoing year.

[Question] When you described, State Secretary, the basic characteristic of 1980 by saying that it might be characterized by the simultaneous presence of detente and tensions, then perhaps the Madrid conference could be said to exhibit the same trends. It began in an atmosphere not very suggestive of a successful outcome but the fact that the socialist countries [word indistinct] to their basic line of at all times seeking the possibility of agreement rather than ideological and political confrontation, created a different [word indistinct].

Now, discussions on the proposals submitted in Madrid will begin in January. What do you regard as the most important points of the proposals of the socialist countries?

[Answer] I have already referred to the unfortunate fact that due to the activities of the opponents of detente, the process of political detente has slowed down and the international atmosphere has deteriorated. Under such circumstances, the importance of the Madrid meeting has increased, but on the other hand, it is much more difficult to attain positive results now than, say, 5 years ago in Helsinki. I am glad to say that efforts aimed at undermining the Madrid meeting and turning it into a futile exercise could not reach their goal. True, the participants were compelled by some to spend a lot of their time listening to irrelevant topics, propaganda and denigration, but as the Christmas break approached, the delegates, thanks to the firm but calm and flexible attitude of the socialist states, paid more and more attention to what the real purpose of the meeting is supposed to be, and the closed sessions became more and more businesslike. This was especially so during the last week before the Christmas break, when the conference turned its attention to the future and the tabling of proposals began.

The socialist countries, including Hungary, have also tabled a number of proposals. These are constructive and forward looking proposals, based on the recognition of mutual interests and realities. We hold that only those proposals will promote the successful outcome of the meeting which focus attention on issues ripe for solution and have a good chance of consensus. Proposals of a confrontational character, which obviously harm the interests of any state, would lead nowhere. Issues which are not yet ripe for solution must be put aside.

The socialist countries keep in mind the balance and integrity of the Final Act and they word proposals accordingly, in each basket of the Final Act. It is not contrary to the unity and integrity of the Helsinki document when I say that the main task of the Madrid meeting is to promote military detente on our continent. It can primarily contribute to this by convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. The corresponding proposal of the Warsaw Pact is well known and now lies on the table of the Madrid meeting as put forward by the Polish delegation. We strongly support the Polish proposal and hope that it will be adopted. France and other countries have also come forward with proposals concerning military detente. The NATO countries support the French proposal. No doubt there are certain basic differences between our proposal and the French one but there is a sufficient number of identical or similar elements in both and we should concentrate on these.

[Question] Over the past years one aspect of Hungarian foreign policy has been the development of bilateral relations with the West European countries. How do you see the results?

[Answer] Well, the Hungarian People's Republic, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, has made constant efforts in the past.

SOVIET, SFRY TV COMMENTATORS DISCUSS POLAND

LD290040 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 2030 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Political discussion chaired by Janos Hajdu, with Alajos Chrudinak and other unnamed foreign political commentators--live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Yugoslav commentator in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation] [passage indistinct] We are talking of a movement which demands well-defined reforms on socialist bases.

[words indistinct] In my opinion, when we are talking about the Western and Eastern press and anyone who writes or talks about events in Poland, we must resist interference in Polish events, and the Poles must be left to solve their own problems on their own territory as well as they can. When one says nonintervention one means for instance that certain people should not let rumors fly about the alleged massing of Soviet units along the Polish border and about the infiltration of tanks. None of this took place and all of it was denied. These are nontruths which bring the atmosphere to the boiling point. It is well known that the West is sending assistance to certain Polish leaders of the Solidarity trade union. These also bring the atmosphere to the boiling point and these are facts. The atmosphere is brought to the boiling point by generalized opinions according to which one is talking about counterrevolution fundamentally about action which is directed against the Polish party.

[Russian commentator in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] I would only like to add two things to all this. [words indistinct] mentioned the alleged Soviet troops massing along the Soviet-Polish border. I read what you talk about and or similar things in the American press. In the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, for instance, that all foreigners have been moved away from the Western border area of the Soviet Union, that the border has been closed, etc. In the wake of these allegations, just before my journey here I read an article in IZVESTIYA written by the deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet in reply to the rumors about closing of the border and the removal of foreigners. He wrote about the number of foreigners--there are 1,100 tourists at the moment in Vilnius and Kaunas, and the French, for instance, are giving a theater performance there. So none of the foreigners have left. Why am I telling you all this? Why am I quoting all these examples? Because, regretably, you endeavor to overturn everything which happens in the Soviet Union.

Not only do you overturn everything but also terrorize with a Soviet threat. This is an old record. The story of the Soviet threat is as old as the Soviet Union. Naturally, I am quoting the expression Soviet threat. You mentioned troop movements. We know that the Americans sent AWACS aircraft to West Europe and that two NATO naval units have been put on battle alert.

I read your article in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE in which you (?note) that the American AFL-CIO provides money for the Polish trade unions. This is true, but it is also true that the AFL-CIO gave not a penny to the Polish trade unions until the Solidarity trade union was established and internal difficulties had not erupted. Now they are sending the money; even Secretary of State Muskie spoke against this. We know that the AFL-CIO has for many years been in close contact with the CIA. They are hoping to succeed in driving a wedge between the trade unions and the Polish Government. Here you have the facts of intervention. We ourselves are against intervention, against military intervention. Despite the fact that we are accused of a possible intervention, it was us who lent the Poles credit of $1.3 billion.

KOROM, DELEGATION RETURN FROM CUBAN CP CONGRESS

LD231450 Budapest MTI in English 0627 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 22 Dec (MTI)--The delegation of the HSWP, which attended the second congress of the Communist Party of Cuba under the leadership of Mihaly Korom, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, returned to Budapest from Havana in the evening of December 22. Members of the delegation were Karoly Grosz, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the County Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Party Committee, and Jeno Jakus, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Havana.

KADAR SENDS BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO BREZHNEV

LD191946 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 19 Dec (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, greeted in a [words indistinct] Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet [words indistinct] on the occasion of his 74th birthday and his decoration with the Order of the October Revolution.

HSWP, COUNCIL SEND CONDOLENCES ON KOSYGIN DEATH

LD220920 Budapest MTI in English 0610 GMT 21 Dec 80

[Text] Budapest, 20 Dec (MTI)--The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic have sent a message to the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union expressing condolences over the death of Aleksey Kosygin.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO MALTA--Dr Janos Szita, our country's ambassador in Rome, who is accredited to Malta as well, on Thursday presented his credentials to Anton Buttigieg, president of the Republic of Malta. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Dec 80 p 8 AU]

AMBASSADOR APPOINTMENTS--Dr. Bela Havasi, ambassador of Hungary accredited to Algeria, presented his credentials to Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria. Laszlo Dirda, Hungarian ambassador accredited to the Republic of Cape Verde, presented his credentials to Aristides Pereira, president of the republic. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 24 Dec 80 LD]

BCP AKTIVISTS' DELEGATION--At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a Bulgarian party-worker delegation led by Penyo Astardzhiev, alternate member and deputy head of the department for party organs of the BCP Central Committee, studied experiences of the party direction of cadre work in our country, from 8-13 December. The delegation was received by Miklos Ovari, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Dec 80 p 7 AU]

DKP AKTIVISTS' VISIT--At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a DKP party-worker delegation led by Birgit von Randow, member of the DKP leadership, visited our country from 8-13 December. The delegation studied the implementation of the MSZMP's youth policy. The representatives of our FRG sister party were received by Tibor Baranyai, member of the Central Control Committee and head of the MSZMP Central Committee's party and mass organization department. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Dec 80 p 7 AU]

CZYREK PAYS OFFICIAL VISIT TO MOSCOW, MEETS BREZHNEV

LD261152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Jozef Czyrek, Poland's foreign minister, is in Moscow on an official visit. This morning he was received at the Kremlin by Leonid Brezhnev.

Report on Meeting

LD261440 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Moscow, 26 Dec (PAP)--The Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev today received Poland's Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek. Taking part in the meeting was Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko.

The sides voiced satisfaction over the outcome of the Warsaw Treaty summit in Moscow and they confirmed both countries' will to further contribute to the cause of [word indistinct] international atmosphere and continuation of the policy of detente.

Discussed here also matters of further development and perfection of all-round cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, alongside some international issues.

The sides firmly condemned attempts by imperialist and other reactionary circles to promote destructive actions aimed against the socialist Poland and to interfere in her internal affairs and her relations of alliance.

Leonid Brezhnev wished working people in Poland success in promptly overcoming obstacles encountered on the road of socialist development, and voiced the conviction that under the leadership of the PUWP the goal will be attained.

The talk passed in a warm and cordial atmosphere.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1500 GMT on 26 December carries a report on the meeting adding that: "Andrey Gromyko, USSR Foreign Minister, Boris Aristov, USSR ambassador to Poland, and Kazimierz Olszewski, Poland's ambassador to the USSR, also took part in the talk."]

Czyrek, Gromyko Luncheon Remarks

LD270444 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Moscow, 26 Dec (PAP)--Speaking at the luncheon given by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, Poland's Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek stated that the Polish-Soviet alliance has an all-European dimension, since it has become an important and durable element of the post-war territorial and political order in Europe, a factor of peace and stability in this continent. Our close cooperation in the national arena serves well the interests of (?our peoples), the cause of progress, peace and security in Europe and (?worldwide). The lasting values of our friendship are being confirmed also [words indistinct] in the complex period of Poland's struggle against the grave socio-political difficulties.

Minister Czyrek stressed that efforts of the PUWP, people's power, the Polish working class and all the working people, Polish Communists, concentrate on the gradual elimination of these difficulties [words indistinct]. The 9th PUWP Congress, which is being prepared, will consolidate the socialist character of the process of renewal, strengthen the leading role of the party, chart out a programme of [words indistinct] further socio-economic development on the [words indistinct] the considerable potential created over the past 36 years.

[Words indistinct] will to make the process of socialist renewal serve not only the interests of socialism in Poland but also the strengthening of our bonds of (?friendship, alliance and cooperation with) the Soviet Union, with all the countries of the socialist community. Simultaneously, we are aware, declared Minister Czyrek, that in the process of overcoming with our own hands the present difficulties, we can count on the confidence, support and valuable assistance of the land of the soviets (?and) the remaining fraternal socialist states.

The Soviet Union was the first to give us effective aid. We hold it high and warmly thank for it. We are deeply convinced that under the guidance of our (?party), the friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union will continue to develop in an allround and fruitful way.

The situation in Poland has been and still is the subject of numerous comments, statements and speculations abroad. Many countries are showing concern about preventing the developments in Poland from bearing a negative impact on the international situation, and specially on the process of detente in Europe.

However, the declarations and concrete activities of the reactionary and (?cold war) forces do not escape our attention. The attempts to undermine the system of our alliances with the Soviet Union and [words indistinct] of the socialist commonwealth are doomed to failure. We [words indistinct], since they aim at our vital national interests, run counter to the principles of the CSCE Final Act and jeopardize the supreme cause of peaceful order and security in Europe.

[Words indistinct] speech Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko referred to the meeting between Jozef Czyrek and Leonid Brezhnev and stated that it passed in cordial atmosphere, in the spirit of party, mutual understanding--characteristic of the relations [words indistinct] the two (?brotherly peoples and countries.)

Of meaningful significance to the Soviet-Polish relations at the present level were the recent talks between Leonid Brezhnev and Stanislaw Kania.

The Moscow meeting of leading politicians of the Warsaw Treaty states analyzed in detail development of international events, confirmed with a new force the striving of the fraternal countries for peace, detente and containment of the arms race. In a decision the participants in the meeting expressed the conviction that the communists, the working class, the working people of brotherly Poland would overcome the existing difficulties, would ensure further development of the country on the road of socialism. The Polish People's Republic has been, is and will be--we are sharing the belief of our Polish friends in this respect--a socialist state, a durable [words indistinct] of the socialist community, said the Soviet foreign minister.

The cohesion of the fraternal states assures an even greater importance in the conditions of the complicated international situation. The common will of [words indistinct] promoted by our countries and nations [words indistinct] unfailing counterbalance to the attempts at intensifying tension made by definite quarters in the U.S. and the NATO.

Minister Gromyko specially emphasized that the Soviet Union fully supports Poland's proposal to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, which expresses a [words indistinct] stance of the brotherly countries. The adoption in the Madrid meeting of a decision on this matter would create a new and hopeful line of the efforts of 35 states at expanding the measures of confidence and then lowering the level and intensity of a military confrontation in Europe, including limitations on military activity and reduction of arms and armaments.

End of Visit

LD262306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek has completed his official visit to Moscow.

He was received in the Kremlin by Leonid Brezhnev and conferred with Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Gromyko. On behalf of Polish authorities, all communists and the working people Jozef Czyrek expressed the conviction that People's Poland will be able to overcome the difficulties that have arisen and will be able to ensure the further development of the country along the socialist road.

Both ministers also expressed the hope that the second part of the European meeting in Madrid will proceed in a more constructive atmosphere and will lead to a decision on convening a conference on the subject of military detente and disarmament in Europe. On behalf of the PZPR leadership and the Polish Government Minister Jozef Czyrek conveyed to Andrey Gromyko an invitation to pay an official friendly visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with great satisfaction.

PAP Reports Communique

LD270358 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Moscow, 26 Dec (PAP)--A communique summing up the results of talks between Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek and member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, Soviet Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek [as received] was issued in Moscow tonight. The communique described the atmosphere accompanying the talks as that of cordiality and mutual comradely understanding.

The sides expressed their deep appreciation over the fact that the relations of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, unfailingly serve the interests of the Polish and Soviet nations, the cause of socialism and peace.

Specially emphasized was the great significance of the recent meetings and talks between Stanislaw Kania and Leonid Brezhnev for the further strengthening and development of friendship and cooperation between the PUWP and the CPSU, Poland and the Soviet Union.

Minister Czyrek presented the course of the implementation of the provisions adopted by the 6th and 7th PUWP CC plenary meetings, the preparations for the 9th PUWP Congress, the evolution of the situation in Poland. He emphasized that--in accordance with the statement by the PUWP leaders at the Moscow meeting of top activists of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty on December 5, 1980--Poland has been, is and will be a socialist state, a strong link in the family of socialist countries.

The exchange of views confirmed full identity of views on the development of the international situation, the timeliness of the assessments and conclusions drawn at the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty (May, 1980) and at the recent Moscow meeting of leading party and state activists of the brotherly countries.

Poland and the Soviet Union are determined to further defend and strengthen detente in the complicated international conditions, consolidating it as a leading tendency in international relations.

Confident that agreement on effective steps towards diminishing the danger of military confrontation in Europe would correspond to the vital interests of all the European countries and nations, Poland and the Soviet Union consider it important that the Madrid meeting take a decision to convene a European conference on military detente and disarmament.

In the opinion of the two sides the real groundwork for solving at the Madrid meeting the issue of the conference on military detente and disarmament is the Polish proposal of December 8, 1980, which presents a joint initiative of the socialist countries.

Simultaneously, Poland and the Soviet Union are ready to consider in depth other appropriate proposals that would aim at a universally acceptable agreement on such a conference.

As the key task in the struggle for maintaining and strengthening universal peace, Poland and the Soviet Union have considered and continue to consider the limitation and arrest of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear sphere. In this connection it was emphasized that the NATO decisions taken both last year and recently create an additonal danger of an intensifying arms race on the European Continent.

It was stated that limitation of strategic armaments becomes increasingly topical and important. The sides also expressed interest in the (?process) of the Soviet-American negotiations on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe. They came out for reaching concrete results at the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms and armaments in central Europe.

Poland and the Soviet Union come out consistently for a global solution to the Middle East issue, on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, recognition of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the right to forming their own independent state, and ensuring sovereignty and security to all the states in the region.

The sides expressed (?their) concern over the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, came out for preventing any outside interference and for settling the conflict by peaceful means.

Ministers Czyrek and Gromyko reaffirmed Poland's and Soviet Union's solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for the implementation of the goals of the April Revolution and the construction of new life. Poland and the Soviet Union continue to come out in favour of a political settlement of the Afghan issue. It should firmly guarantee a total cessation of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and prevent such interference in the future.

The Polish side evaluated the results of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to India as a significant contribution to the strengthening of peace in Asia and worldwide, and voiced its full support for the proposals he had put forward on behalf of the Soviet Union in the sphere of peace and security in the Persian Gulf region.

The Polish-Soviet talks held during the visit have once more demonstrated the durability of the brotherly alliance, friendship and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, between the peoples of the two countries, the communique said.

TRYBUNA LUDU Comment

LD291002 Warsaw PAP in English 0821 GMT 29 Dec 80

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Dec (PAP)--In connection with last week's visit paid to Moscow by Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote: "The alliance, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union have been and are the unchanging foundation of the foreign policy of People's Poland, and the consolidation of the alliance with the Soviet Union is the number-one task of this policy. Therefore we receive with satisfaction the news about the course and results of the latest Polish-Soviet talks. We find in them a deeper unity of view, a consolidation of close and all-round cooperation, and a confirmation of 'the sympathetic attitude and full understanding for the efforts of our party and our nation in overcoming the present difficulties,' as Minister Czyrek said at the luncheon given by Minister Gromyko.

"The talks have become another proof of the lasting character of the fraternal alliance, friendship and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, between the nations of the two countries," the paper concluded.

RAILROAD STATIONS CONTINUE UNLOADING SOVIET GOODS

LD271500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Work in the border railroad stations Geniusze and Siemianowka in Bialystok Voivodship continues today, even though it is a work-free Saturday. Seven thousand tons of freight from the Soviet Union will be transloaded there.

The dry port in Geniusze has already taken delivery, in the current (?campaign), of more than 130,000 tons of Soviet wheat. It is planned to transload 1,500 tons of crops today, as well as refrigerators and other industrial goods.

As for Siemianowka, the main cargo being transloaded today consists of tractors, agricultural machines, cross-country vehicles and television sets.

POPE'S CHRISTMAS EVE MESSAGE BROADCAST TO NATION

LD241916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Christmas greetings from Pope John Paul II to the Polish nation--recorded]

[Text] Praised be Jesus Christ! These were the words I wrote in the letter to my fellow countrymen addressed to the primate and to all my brothers in the Episcopate in Poland.

Today, I am able to amplify these words. Thus, I wish to take the wafer in my hand, this Polish wafer which I received from the primate, and I wish--holding the wafer in my hand and facing you--to come closer, to meet you, to break the wafer with you in spirit--with this very wafer. I want to break this wafer with every one of you, with everyone without exception.

I wish these Christmas Eve words of mine to reach every one of you, but above all I wish my words to reach the families, parents and their children, the old and the young generations, to become words of love, peace, reconciliation, to become words from the heart.

I wish these Christmas Eve greetings of mine to reach in a special way those of my brothers and sisters who for any reason are suffering. I want the greetings to reach all who suffer, all who feel alone.

On this holy night I wish to tell you that good news. You yourselves will announce this good news at midnight when you gather at midnight mass when priests in their parishes, in their churches, begin to celebrate holy mass, when the good news from Bethlehem will resound through the words of the Christmas carol: The message rings during the silent night, get up, shepherds, God is being born.

Once these words were uttered to shepherds in Bethlehem. Today let us say them to all of us, to everyone, to the men doing physical or mental work, to men of science, to the students and working youth, to old people, to the older generation and to children, to the younger generation and to babies. The tiniest ones have a special right to today's holy day.

Christmas Eve has always been for us Poles a day of special community feeling, not just in every family but also in that vast family which we all constitute, in this family represented by our motherland, our entire nation. I should like to recall to that great family the words written by Stanislaw Wyspianski for Christmas Eve: Give us the feeling of strength and give us Poland too, a live one. The words of Konrad's prayer. Words of prayer, but can these words not be put into the lips of every one of us, starting with the simplist man and ending with the most educated one, both the one who carries out orders and the one who governs.

Therefore, allow me to put these words into your lips, dear brothers and sisters, and just like Wyspianski's Konrad I pray using them, together with you, for our common homeland this evening.

As I pray, I commend to Christ, I commend to his mother, all that has taken place and all that is taking place in Poland over the recent months: this special cause, the cause of unity, the cause of peace, mutual respect and understanding, the cause which is not directed against anyone, not against but at renewal, at reconstruction, so that everyone may play a fuller part in it, so that everyone may feel within that cause that they are a subject of creativity, effort and duty and also of joy in creating common wealth.

With this in mind I break this Christmas Eve wafer. I break it together with the great community of our motherland and I wish that those actions may continue to be accompanied by order, mutual respect, that they may be accompanied by the grace of peace both inside and outside, and that this cause once started may be completed.

Dear borthers and sisters! My beloved compatriots! With you I break this Christmas Eve wafer and send you my wishes from here, the Vatican chapel. I send them to you just as they are written in my heart, and also as they are written in the hearts of everyone of you, in the heart of our motherland.

I would like to end this unusual meeting with you, my beloved compatriots, by including a greeting to all without exception. I did try to remember you all although I have not succeeded in mentioning everyone, especially because of the consideration of time at my disposal.

Now, by way of the last word of your meeting with the Pope, your compatriot, please accept a blessing. In the name of the holiest trinity; may almighty God, the Father, and Son, and the Holy Spirit bless you. Amen. [end recording]

CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI ISSUES CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

LD261830 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1530 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Christmas message from Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, primate of Poland--read by announcer]

[Excerpts] Children of God's love! The first message which the angels sang over the stable in Bethlehem was this: Glory be to God on high and peace on earth to men of good will. Glory to God. Peace to men.

In every holy mass we repeat Christ's words: I leave you my peace. If only we could believe the possibility of spreading peace on earth by overcoming the atmosphere of sin and by strengthening the church's faith in the need for calming human hearts.

People believe today that the proud rulers of countries are responsible for all the evil on earth, for people suffering, for the disasters and the constant wars. They believe that people are basically good and want a peaceful life. It is true that among many rulers who have, after all, also been redeemed by Christ there are some who in the depth of their hearts nurture the desire to give true peace and justice to the world. But perhaps not all of them know the road to peace. This can be seen from the constant searches for peace, the meetings, conferences and consultations held at all levels. The great men of this world attach too much hope to peace with arms, while the church consistently says in its credo: I believe in Jesus Christ who through the Holy Spirit was born of Virgin Mary and became man.

So peace to Jesus Christ and his church; peace to the holy father, bishops and priests, the religious and missionaries, all people who unceasingly bring God's peace to hearts and minds, who soothe passions and social tensions. It is their job to take the spirit of Christ to people, no matter what home they enter, regardless of what people on earth they may serve. One must not be afraid of those servants of peace. They do no harm to the world.

Hearts, the doors of houses and the borders of countries should be opened to them. It must be recognized that the greatest harm to people can be done in a Godless world, by nations deprived of the gospel and altars.

The time has come to end the persecution of religion and of the church. It is time to end the attempts to hunt God down in the human conscience. These attempts are still being made by some nations which are increasing their war activities and their persecution of the church of Christ.

Peace is not born out of despot's authority but, rightly and properly, it is born out of justice. Peace is the fruit of the order imposed on the human community by its divine redeemer, order which must be produced by people who desire a more perfect justice. Peace demands that every man always control his passion and that the authorities are always vigilant. To build peace, it is imperative to have a resolute will to respect other people and their dignity as well as to continuously practice brotherhood. Thus, peace is the fruit of love which goes beyond the borders of what justice alone can do.

May God's peace enter the vast fields of human toil as it did at one time the fields of the shepherds of Bethlehem. May it rule everywhere, where the fruit of the soil and human toil are being created, where bread is created for the mouths of all humans who have a right to decide in their own motherland what they eat and drink. Peace is essential to our land, from which our daily bread comes, and for which all our mouths are so hungry. May there be peace for all plowmen, sowers and reapers. May there be an end to painful quarrels between households. May the farmer's hard work be given respect and the sense of security of owning one's own patch of land tilled by fathers and grandfathers. It is one of our policies' greatest mistakes to destroy the quiet life of hardworking farmers in the country.

May God's peace enter deep mines in which providence has secured rich deposits of Poland's black gold for us and for our nation's future generations. We must not, in violation of all principles of prudence, human safety and hygiene, bleed the life out of our national economy to make it serve the cause of commerce and uncontrolled exports.

May God's peace rule the hearts of our brothers who in the spirit of the best service to the nation enter the gates of shipyards, steelworks, factories and countless workshops of human effort and toil. May the effort of our workers' fraternal service be respected in such a way as to ensure that they do not leave their workplace degraded. Here, too, an atmosphere of kind words, a helping hand, management ideas and hearts sensitive to human dignity must prevail. As nowhere else, it is here that social love for all God's workers must be the rule, in the way that our fathers and sons wish it. It was they who called, at crucial times, for the peace of their own consciences and hearts in the sacrament of repentance and in the sacrifice of the holy mass.

The conscience of the world could be seen in the columns of the international press, through the pictures of Polish shipyard workers who, while struggling for their rights, sought support in the faith of Christ and the gospel. It would appear that the working man has found the greatest ally for his toil in Christ who told those laden with burden: All of you come to Me and I shall cool your brow. It appears it is unnecessary to break with the Heavenly Father or Christ in order to achieve socioeconomic reconstruction. A new attempt must be made at social reconstruction by enlivening it with the spirit of Christ's gospel.

So peace to those who, aware of their contribution to the social and national life, justly strive to obtain proper respect and recognition for their rights, and especially the right to the freedom of uniting their thoughts and effort.

Peace to the homes and schools so that parents and teachers may have a chance to bring up children without violating their consciences, especially in schools and public life.

Peace to the social and public service so that the hearts of our supervisors may be convinced that their service should be one of love, free from compulsion, the display of force and authority.

Finally, peace to those who took up service for our motherland, may they lose their faith in peace armed with steel and believe in peace armed with God's love.

May there be an end to displays of arms which demonstrate the will to defend world peace because that is not the way to calm human hearts.

FACTORY COMMISSION ELECTION CAMPAIGNS UNDERWAY

LD272202 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Dec (PAP)--A factory electoral campaign for the Solidarnosc trade union group is now going on throughout Poland.

In some regions the elections are fairly advanced and in others they have only begun. The elections have already ended in the "Anna" and the "Manifest Lipcowy" Silesian mines and in some plants of the tricity of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot. Delays are taking place in these factories where disputable issues have been solved not so long ago. However, the works commissions have also been elected in most enterprises.

The Solidarnosc group deems the election of competent people and the strict observance of democratic electoral principles as the most important issues in this campaign. Not always people who became trade union leaders in the first and most heady period show features that are necessary in the everyday trade union activity. However, in many cases, those people gained the confidence of their fellow-workers. Therefore, their electoral mandate often corresponds to their strike mandate.

The Solidarnosc group considers it important that activists elected for the first time have not only the basic knowledge of trade union issues but also of economic, technical and organizational questions connected with the functioning of enterprises. That is why the Solidarnosc Inter-Factory Workers' Committee in Jastrzebie started organizing a system of teaching and self-teaching for factory activists.

The works campaign is an opportunity to discuss the most important issues of the working personnel and, first of all, to size up the degree to which the postulates have been implemented. They concern not only issues connected with welfare and wages, but also organization of work, production, supplies for plants, and management of the intermediate and raw materials.

Some postulates have been taken into account in the agreements signed so far and others are mentioned in [word indistinct] agreements [word indistinct] in plants [words indistinct]. The recent agreement of that kind, covering some 100 postulates, has been signed with the Rybnik group of the coal industry. Proposals and demands of the working crews are the starting point for working out programmes of action for the Solidarnosc bodies--in factories and regions, and also in branch and trade sections set up in some regions.

SOLIDARITY HANDLING ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

LD270232 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] The current socioeconomic situation in our country and the heated atmosphere in many factories have not been conducive to normal trade union work by the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity. At present links of this movement must continue to tackle organizational matters while at the same time dealing with thousands of the most varied matters which people are presenting to the new trade unions.

However, it seems, says the Polish press agency, that the time is not far away when Solidarity will be able to deal with the construction of organizational foundations for its activities. The trade union's factory election campaign, which is now in progress, favors this.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTARY ATTACKS KOR LEADERS

AU241228 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Dec 80 p 7

["DAL" commentary: "Those Incorrigible and Irresponsible"]

[Text] It is a truism to say that Poland at the moment primarily needs prudence, calmness, political discretion and work for our common benefit--for the people's fatherland. Thus, on the party's initiative, a broad alliance of the forces of commonsense and civil responsibility is emerging to carry out the socialist renewal of the country and of political life.

However, that alliance and its goals are still opposed by a group of irresponsible firebrands with political ambitions contradictory to our fundamental national and state interests.

This negative feature in the life of the country was noted by Wroclaw students who informed us about the proceedings of a meeting held by Adam Michnik, one of the leaders of the Workers' Social Self-Defense [KOR], at the Philological Department of the University of Wroclaw on 9 December. Michnik presented his views on the "causes of August 80," there, and it would not be Michnik if he did not seize the opportunity to slander and criticize the USSR, the Polish alliances and party policy since 1944, and even the Yalta conference held by the three powers, the USSR, the United States and Great Britain, in February 1945. That "defender of workers" lamented over the "poor consciousness" of the Polish workers class which, "dazed (in 1968) by communist propaganda, regarded students as their enemies." It is not difficult to see that the point of the tendentious interpretation of the 1968 events was anything but in the interests of the working people...

The KOR leader also interpreted in a similar tendentious way the reasons of security and Poland's alliance treaties. In the present European situation, this is an example of simple irresponsibility. Anti-Soviet passion was manifested by the criticism of the Yalta conference whose preliminary settlements with regard to borders, endorsed at the Potsdam conference in August 1945, laid international legal foundations for Poland's border on the Oder and Neise.

As far as the durability of the post-war balance of powers in Europe is concerned, Michnik, and particularly his listeners, would be well advised to have a look at the commentary published in the Washington POST of 12 December 1980 and bearing an eloquent title: "Back to Yalta." It says: "It is doubtful if Reagan after 20 January (the day power is assumed--author's remark) will come out with a different policy" (different from the policy whose principles had been fixed at the Yalta conference--author's remark). Notwithstanding the accusations of the alleged USSR interventionism, NATO countries at their bloc session in Brussels also confirmed the principles fixed at the Potsdam conference.

However, Michnik and company prefer to turn a blind eye on realities. Anyhow, they do not speak about them to their young listeners. In the same way they try to elude the specification of the KOR's political program. Michnik told in Wroclaw what he likes and what he dislikes. For instance, he emphasized that he likes beautiful women, very much freedom and expensive liquors, but what he dislikes most are, obviously, the USSR and communists. He also added that "as long as the present political and military alliances are binding," officially it is impossible to speak about a political program for the KOR. It is worthwhile noting in this connection that this is only "as long as the present alliances are binding"--alliances that constitute a basis for Poland's security and define our place in Europe.

Anti-Soviet statements by the KOR "summit"--Michnik and Kuron--is obviously something more than their usual "polemics" with the socialist system. They are challenging the purpose and reason of Poland's allied committments. [paragraph continues]

The Vatican, French, Italian, American and British press noted in concert the critical assessment of such precisely adventurist statements made by Reverend Orszulik, spokesman of the Polish Episcopate, in his speech at the 13 December press conference.

At that conference, attended by Western journalists, the need was emphasized to prevent "activities that could harm Poland's interests," and also "the vociferous and irresponsible declarations against our eastern neighbor" were condemned. The Western press states that that was a critical assessment of KOR, and of Moczulski's Confederation for Independent Poland. The BBC identified Jacek Kuron as a preacher of those embittering slogans. LE FIGARO in Paris of 13 December specified that the point was to condemn "within the KOR and in dissident circles those unable to show a sense of responsibility."

The posture assumed by Michnik in Wroclaw confirmed that that also applies to him.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON STABILIZATION, RENEWAL

AU241215 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Dec 80 p 3

[Jerzy Zielenski article: "Purpose of Stabilization"]

[Excerpts] The 1980 summer events, which ended in an original social contract in the form of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements and of a number of minor agreements, have reversed the course of affairs or rather have halted the process by which Polish society was reeling toward complete physical, mental and spiritual degradation. They have halted that process, but this does not mean that they have helped to repair anything except the state of general awareness. Everything is still before us "and only the past is not veiled by fog." Our future is still a great unknown quantity. It seems to me that it is useless to talk about improvements or renewal. What is awaiting us is large-scale reconstruction.

The Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements did not close the great process of national reconstruction; they opened it. As for the nature of such processes, we already know that they will not be controlled like you can control a machine by pressing certain knobs and levers to operate certain defined processes. The processes of national reconstruction are much like elementary forces, which are governed by their own rights we know little about.

The nation [narod] between the Oder and the Bug is calm because it knows what will threaten it if the bowstring is overstrained. But calm does not denote inertia. When looking back at the past 3 fall months, we must always bear in mind that mountain of claims, grudges, wrongs and indignation that have accumulated in the course of years. Let us not look at those months from the viewpoint of Gdansk, Warsaw, Wroclaw and other large centers in which renewal (I have an exceptional dislike for this term because I went through two periods of renewal and I know how they ended) has somehow materialized. Corruption spread through voivodship levels to rural parishes, to rural chiefs, to agricultural circles and to people-to-people relations.

Although it is true that fish begin to stink around the head, for the man in the street it began to stink most strongly around its tail--at the bottom of society, in his own neighborhood so to speak. For him the symbols of economic and moral bankruptcy are not the dark skinned masseuses employed by the former head of Polish radio, but the thieves and bribetakers employed by the procurement stations. The man in the street sees no reason why Poland should be threatened if he will ask that such thieves should be removed from procurement stations, all the more so since in many regions and rural parishes of our country no one has heard of any "renewal". Not a grass blade has moved. As for the central echelon, are its decisions always made effectively? Is it not talking about "renewal" rather than doing anything about it?

Poland's image as a sanctuary of anarchy, disarray, chaos and permanent strikes is of no service for Polish society and its friends. On the other hand, it certainly pleases our enemies and perhaps those of us who are the "people of yesterday." They are doing everything to make our citizens forget that the long period of their arbitrary and autocratic government is responsible for the greatest anarchy in our economic and social life.

Too many people have already lost too much through the changes in our country and may lose still more. I do not think they will easily come to terms with these losses--they, their protegees and their clients, all of whom represent a considerable band of people.

Nowadays time seems to be passing by more rapidly than usual, so that the information and views presented today are obsolete tomorrow. I do not aspire to making forecasts. My purpose is to sum up conscientiously the period of the 3 months since the Gdansk agreement. It seems to me that the tensions which occurred during those 3 months and which could have created a completely false image of our country in many minds were reflected in emotions rather than facts. The fact is that in those months nothing happened that could not have been included in a normal process of change. Perhaps even less happened than anyone could have assumed. We all are talking about stabilization and calm, but perhaps we have not always the same things in mind. Stabilization at any price--for example, at the price of reversing the course of events and of returning to the old style--is out of the question. The most horrible state that could befall us would be a return to apathy and cynicism at a lower level than the previous one. A slow and inevitable disintegration could in such a case effectively do the job of a potential tornado.

CONGRESS COMMISSION MEMBER VIEWS PARTY SUPERVISION

LD280526 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Preparations are in progress for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The congress commission which is drawing up program suggestions and proposals is playing a responsible role in this.

(Barbara Rogala), deputy head of a section at the Nadodrzanskie Rokita organic industry plant, is one of the members of the congress commission. The plant is in Brzeg Dolny. In a statement made to PAP, she said that the proposal concerning the ensuring of actual and effective supervision over all party bodies is often repeated at 'Rokita' party meetings. This supervision should be exercised over all party bodies--from basic party groups through to the Central Committee. Rokita feels that the elections of party officials should be authentic and fully democratic and that the term of office of these officials should be limited. The people elected as party officials should be competent, responsible, honest and enjoy authority and the confidence of those around them. (Barbara Rogala) expressed the conviction that the consistent implementation of the decisions of the seventh plenum of the party Central Committee would enable everyone to find specific answers to the important questions facing the nation and all of us which will be on the agenda of the party congress. She thinks that one must prepare the deliberations of the ninth party congress with a sense of supreme responsibility.

COOPERATION CALLED KEY TO SURVIVAL, REFORM

LD291012 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1555 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Henryk Lechowski commentary]

[Text] After the last stormy months the present social calmness which has been established in our country seems to be an unnatural state of affairs. I have met people who are saying that it is boring once again.

But the majority of society is sighing with relief. This period of calm was simply needed. Apart from that, the pre-holiday period is a kind of mystical [word indistinct] of silence, contemplation and conciliation. Nevertheless, it will be difficult during holiday encounters and conversations to escape reality and the conditions of our present life, which constitute the initial platform for tomorrow.

On the whole one may be pleased with two things on the coast: the making up at the end of the year of the production losses by large enterprises and the realization that the key to the survival of the people is cooperation and not confrontation. The shipbuilding yards, the refinery, the ports and many other enterprises have almost regained their normal work rhythm. I say "almost" because this rhythm would be even better except for setbacks in supplies and cooperation.

Of course, unfortunately, this does not apply to our whole economy on the coast and especially in the country. One must deplore the decline in labor productivity, sluggish discipline, social chattering [rozgadanie] at the work places and the failure to attain planned production at many enterprises in Poland, especially in Silesia. The state of affairs in housing construction can be simply described as a disaster. We did not achieve even one-half of what was planned in this field. The elimination in the mines day after day of one shift and the arbitrary stoppage [przerwanie] of work on Saturdays have created the situation, which is at present being watched by us with great alarm, of the switching-off of electric power, the closure of cement works, the coal shortage at the the power stations, in the countryside and in the ports for export. The chain reaction of these phenomena is there for all to see. We cannot escape the consequences.

In this situation a project on the new economic reform is being prepared at a very accelerated rate which, I am sure, will not be all the better for us. We must be honest in this matter and, in accordance with the demand by the strikers in August that journalists tell the truth, we must present this truth also in relation to the economic reform. It will also bring many disappointments to those who demanded its introduction, if it is a genuine reform implemented with firm consistency. What should it mean and introduce? It must, above all, introduce healthy systems and economic structures in our country. This means proper cadre organization in each enterprise and institution, branch and department, interdepartmental cohesion, the balancing of materials and resources with the national economic plan, especially with the part concerning investment.

Well, everyone will say, this is the point. Yes, of course. Only such rational economy, if we succeed in introducing it, must lead to socially unpopular steps, in order to make real the state of employment in the economic units. This, in turn, will lead to reducing and not increasing employment. It is obvious that, as a result of the reform's introduction, employment in the bureaus and offices must be reduced by between 15 and 25 percent. The stop and reduction of investments must reduce the number of the designing bureaus and reduce employment in this branch. In order not to create substantial unemployment, many people will be compelled to qualify for new jobs. The problem in our country is not that there are too many people but that the structures of employment and education are deficient. On the coast and also in the country, electronics and chemical experts are looking for jobs. In the countryside there is a shortage of people having certain qualifications and diplomas.

These are only some awkward phenomena which will be created by the consistently implemented economic reform. There will be more of them. If I speak of this, it is because it is part of the truth which must not be left unsaid. We must all be prepared for this future reality, accept certain unpleasant results of the reform without which it cannot and will not be credible in the future. It is also the topic for holiday conversations by Poles so that this calm of social reconcilation does not seem to be very boring.

TRADE UNION DAILY ON DANGERS TO 'RENEWAL'

AU241023 Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 13-14 Dec 80 p 5

[Wojciech Pomianowski article: "The Need for Actions in Support of Renewal"]

[Excerpts] The fact that Polish affairs have been occupying the world press and have been discussed in the Eastern and Western politicians' most important speeches for some months now is certainly no reason for satisfaction. It is true that the profound changes in our country that were initiated by the August events are being watched by the world with interest and appreciation. Nor is anyone putting in doubt the necessity of those changes. However, it is also true that Poland's prolonged sociopolitical destabilization and economic crisis are giving rise to an ever increasing concern of the world.

That concern is also being prompted by the fear that th Polish situation may unfavorably influence the entire spectrum of international relations and that the present state of these relations, which have been developed with such efforts by many countries for many years, may be endangered.

Aside from sensational reports, which I do not intend to discuss, the press commentaries and the politicans' statements are showing ever increasing impatience with the Polish situation and ever increasing fears that this situation may have an unfavorable impact on European stability.

Those fears are not groundless. In the course of many years a balance of power has been established in Europe, and Poland is an important element of this balance and one of the guarantors of equilibrium. The weakening of even a single element on either side--in this case of Poland--would be tantamount to the weakening of the entire tested and verified structure. No government and no society on our continent wants that. They are all afraid of it.

We should also bear in mind that the weakening of Poland's postion would not fail to have in the long run an impact on the strength of the entire socialist camp. Should anyone say that such fears are groundless, let him just think of the consequences of a possible general strike by railroadmen--not only economic consequences, but also consequences connected with the defense conditions of more countries than just Poland. And there has been a possibility of such a strike.

The present course of the process of renewal in our country is proving that, generally speaking, everyone realizes the external conditions of it. The political platform of that process has been clearly defined. Concepts to find a way out of the crisis are being worked out with increasing accuracy. However, our daily practice is still beset in many regards by many inconsequences of our activities.

Such a situation makes the world sit up in the East and the West. We should bear in mind, however, that the world's concern for the Polish situation should and cannot be regarded as an argument against renewal. On the contrary, we must draw the conclusions from this concern that will accelerate and improve this renewal and that will force us to open our eyes to things. That is why we must realize that no one will slap our backs if we indulge--even involuntarily--in firebranding, that no will risk his head for us and feed us if we continue to quarrel or to lose resolution in action.

ARMY DAILY VIEWS IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION

AU241125 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Dec 80 p 4

[Col Prof Dr Kazimierz Ochocki article: "Marxism in the Contemporary World--a Reliable Weapon in the Ideological Struggle"]

[Excerpts] Marxism has grown as an ideology of rebellion, opposition and struggle against the actual social evils, oppression of the proletariat and the working people and against their class exploitation.

Marxism hit at capitalist relations and order, pointing to the possibility of a new historical prospect for mankind in the form of the communist system, as a result of the class struggle of the proletariat. That is why it is nothing to wonder at that Marxism, virtually from its very beginning, has caused the displeasure of bourgeois societies and has become a subject of more or less sophisticated methods of bourgeois criticism.

Those who have not come to terms with Marxism and who criticize it, but who have not denied it a certain greatness, include the mightiest minds of the capitalist world (to mention just M. Heidegger and K. Jaspers). There are also those who are ready to accept it, at least subjectively (J.P. Sartre). Even those scientists who, as specialists in Soviet affairs, criticize Marxism as part of their professions, regard Marxism as one of the two or three most important streams of philosophy in the present world.

In view of all that it is all the more striking that some communities in our country have demanded that lectures on Marxist philosophy and political science should be abandoned in our higher schools. Ignoring the paradox that students in capitalist countries study Marxism and students in socialist countries are deprived of such an opportunity and are ignoring for the time being the question of how it is possible that under the political conditions based on the ideological principles of Marxism future intellectuals would not possess the basic knowledge of these principles, I wish to draw attention to something else. I wish to examine the reason for such a demand.

Taking into account the present state of Polish society's awareness, we are entitled to assert that socialism as a social system and as the Polish raison d'etre has become something that cannot be undermined and reversed and that has been accepted by the working people and the majority of our society. This political system is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology in its practical manifestations and has become a reality through it.

At the same time, not all citizens of our country who participate in socialist construction share all the ideas of Marxism. They are divided by differences in world outlooks. They include people with lay views and religious people (mostly Roman Catholics). While participating in public life, these people profess various ideological motives. All that is natural and legally accepted in keeping with the valid principle of the freedom of conscience and confession.

Mindful of the supremacy of the patriotic duty to ensure prosperity for our socialist fatherland, we join hands in common production and service efforts, regardless of the convictions dividing us. Of course, these convictions are there, and those who profess them have the right and duty to proclaim them. And that is what is taking place. Catholic schools and many publishing firms are able to foster their own philosophical ideas and world outlooks. The advocates of the Marxist view of the world also reserve such a right for themselves.

We should bear in mind that the curricula on Marxist philosophy and sociology in our higher schools seek not only to spread Marxist knowledge, but also to foster broadly conceived philosophic culture and rationalism and to acquaint young people with the traditions and philosophical achievements of the past generations, including our own generations. They also seek to humanize life and to counter technocratic tendencies and the tendencies to train narrow specialists who are devoid of broader intellectual horizons.

Let us recall at this point that the propaedeutic of philosophy, which has been unjustly abandoned by us, is rooted in the traditions of Polish secondary education; that the most important technical higher schools in the world include a large component of humanities in their curricula and that luminaries in sciences such as physics or biology write philosophical treaties and feel and need to express themselves and philosophical issues. Names such Planck, Einstein, Heisenberg or Monod--just to mention these--speak for themselves.

The state of university instruction in philosophy, sociology and other disciplines certainly calls for further improvements. The curricula must to a greater extent conform with the character and needs of individual higher schools and, above all, must be more responsive to the expectations and needs of students. They should give more attention to the key issues of the present time and to discuss them critically and comprehensively. They should present philosophy as a mode of thinking that is critical and vigilant and that is aimed at changing and improving reality as it is and at fostering the self-dependence of students and their personal attitude to philosophy.

If we put aside the current emotions and various unconsidered manifestations of reaction to various issues of the upbringing and education of young people, it is worth realizing yet another of Lenin's teachings: that there can be no vacuum in ideological life. Efforts to get rid of one ideology are usually tantamount to efforts to replace it by another ideology, which gives rise to a clash and struggle between opposing ideas.

It would be naive to think that this is not so in Poland at present. The current idological confrontation in our country is part and parcel of the international confrontation of the socialist and capitalist forces. It is making itself known through specific positions and submitted postulates. It is in these terms that we should view the struggle aimed at fostering Marxist ideology in our country.

WARSAW AKTIVS SESSION DISCUSSES CULTURAL SHORTCOMINGS

AU241026 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Dec 80 p 6

[PAP report: "Session of Party Aktivs of Warsaw Creative Centers"]

[Summary] Representatives of the Warsaw creative centers attended the 15 December session of party cultural aktivs, organized by the Warsaw PZPR Committee.

"Many speakers from the floor stressed the urgent need for a party program on cultural policy. The events of the past few months have exposed even more glaringly the many weaknesses of our cultural life, weaknesses that point to more than just the shortcomings of our material base. What gives rise to particular concern is the conviction that culture may take a back seat in the vehicle of general social life. That conviction, which has been fostered for many years and has often been confirmed by practice, calls for radical counteraction. One result of that weakness has been the virtual disappearance of clashes of views and of development of Marxist thought in culture."

When evaluating the role of party organizations in creative centers, we must not forget that in the past years these organizations have reported various features of neglect of cultural affairs. "The basic party organization of the Warsaw section of the Polish Association of Writers has for years demanded that the book publishing situation be improved, and has drawn attention to the obstacles in the development of Polish culture, including the frequently unjustified censorship enforced for unimportant reasons."

The speakers from the floor expressed their concern for the virtual absence of idological and cultural issues from the press, including the party press, and for the absence of a Marxist sociocultural periodical.

"Jozef Tejchma, minister of culture and art, spoke at the end of the session. Culture is the goal of social development and the driving power of socialism, he said. Under the present conditions and in the face of the pressure of the current political, social and economic events we have failed to formulate the principles of cultural policy that correspond to the current needs of the party and the state.

"The basic task posed for cultural workers by the present time is to create the psychological conditions to overcome the country's crisis."

Those speaking from the floor included Roman Szydlowksi, Jozef Lenart, Stanislaw Kuszewski, Jerzy Hoffman, Jerzy Kawalerowicz, Andrzej Wasilewski, Bohdan Chmielewski, Jan Swiderski and Janina Jagielska. Stanislaw Kocielek, first secretary of the PZPR committee in Warsaw, and Kazimierz Molek, deputy head of the Central Committee Cultural Department, were present.

DETAILS OF CASE AGAINST SZCZEPANSKI RELEASED

LD280156 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Investigations are continuing into the matter of corrupt practices at the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. Let us add that inspectors of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] are carrying out a broad check of the activities of the committee. The prosecutor general's office reports that this check is being carried out by a specially appointed team of prosecutors who are closely cooperating with functionaries from the Ministry of Internal Affairs investigation office and NIK inspectors.

A dozen or so detailed charges are being made against Maciej Szczepanski, who has been under investigatory arrest since 15 October in a three-man cell. These charges are connected, above all, with bad management and with the use of the committee's funds for private purposes. According to the information that has been collected, radio and television equipment worth about $1.5 million was imported in 1979-80 on the instructions of Maciej Szczepanski. This was done through the needless intervention of an Austrian car firm. Szczepanski was to recommend that the purchases include articles on which there was an import ban or which were not connected with the activities of the committee. These were worth about $100,000.

Maciej Szczepanski and Eugeniusz Patyk [former first deputy chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs] are also suspected of issuing recommendations that the costs of a holiday in Poland for a representative of this firm together with his family be covered from the committee's funds.

In the 1977-80 period the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs had at its disposal funds earmarked for supporting radio and television creativity amounting to a total of Zl5.6 million. It is suspected that money from these funds was used not in accordance with what it was intended for and with the regulations in force. Prizes were awarded to persons who had nothing at all to do with the activities of the committee. Eugeniusz Patyk is also suspected of using many workers paid by the committee to build his villa in Chlejec in Skierniewice Voivodship and of using building equipment free of charge. Various state enterprises were to carry out certain work and on the invoices drawn up by these enterprises sums of money were given which were considerably less than was really the case. Provisional arrest has also been applied towards persons who cooperated with Eugeniusz Patyk in appropriating state property.

The information that has been collected during the investigation also allows one to suppose that Maciej Szczepanski acquired various kinds of technical equipment worth about $8,000 which had been delivered for the committee. He issued instructions for part of this equipment to be installed at his villa in Szczyrk and he presented what was left to his acquaintance Ryszard D. [name as heard] Taking into account the braod scope of the matters which the investigation embraces and also the continuing checking being carried out by the NIK, the disclosure of fresh details, in the opinion of the prosecutors conducting the investigation, will last another few months.

DRAFT PROGRAM FOR SHORTER WORK WEEK EXPLAINED

LD262306 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Dec 80

["On the Subject of the Draft Program for Reducing the Working Week"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Dec (PAP)--The second draft program for reducing working time has aroused new emotions and kindled arguments.

A PAP representative approached Piotr Karpiuk, deputy minister of labor, wages and social affairs, with a request to throw some light on this issue. He said: The accords concluded on the Baltic coast refer unambiguously to a gradual reduction in the duration of working time.

The agreement at Jastrzebie concerns the free Saturdays and Sundays and the four-shift system of work in the (?mining) industry where the character and conditions of work justify a speedy organization of the process of reducing working time. This [words indistinct] all the economy and the nation, for the functioning of the branches of industry [word indistinct] and Polish exports. Already, the sudden changeover to a 5-day working week and the liquidation of the four-shift system of work in the mining industry have led to a reduction in coal output. In this connection, it has been necessary to suspend work in certain enterprises of other branches of industry (?including) cement works which fact, in its turn, threatens the housing program. However, the government takes the stand that the projects which have been signed should be consistently fulfilled. A draft order of the Council of Ministers is being prepared concerning working hours in [word indistinct] industry, corresponding to the agreement signed in [words indistinct].

In the first variant the government proposed a 5-day working week but envisaged that the working day would be lengthened to 8.5 hours and that Saturdays would be worked those weeks in which other days free of work occurred under the law. Altogether this meant a reduction of the working week to 42.5 hours.

These proposals, as was shown by widespread public consultation, were not approved. The new variant of the program of reducing working hours takes into account the conclusions drawn from that consultation. We propose, said Piotr Kerpiuk, to introduce in 1981 25 additional free days, that is a working week lasting 42.2 hours: in 1982--30 free days; in 1983--35 free days; in 1984--40 free days; and in 1985--46 free days. Thus, at the end of the 5-year period we would achieve a 5-day 40-hour working week, or to be more precise a work week lasting 39.6 hours. The implementation of this program would mean a 54 hours reduction in the annual working time norm during 1981.

The draft program envisages also that, within the framework of the generally applied working week lasting 42.2 hours, the workforce at any given enterprise could arrange their timetable in a different way, for instance by increasing the length of the work day and obtaining more free Saturdays as a result.

As for commerce and services, it is envisaged that directives on this issue will be prepared by the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services and specific decisions on the number of trade outlets open and the duration of their work will be taken by local authorities, said the deputy minister.

INCREASE IN LIVESTOCK FOR SLAUGHTER REPORTED

LD281748 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Dec (PAP)--Supplies of pigs and cattle to purchase stations increased considerably in the fourth quarter of this year, especially after the rise in livestock purchasing prices.

The result was that before Christmas industry had an optimum store of pigs--about 80 thousand animals--enough for a one-day slaughter, and a slightly above-optimum stock of cattle--about 30 thousand--which is enough for a two-day slaughter.

The director of the Meat Industry Board, Witold Pereta, said that the entire meat industry has an 8 thousand ton daily slaughter capacity. This means that if livestock supplies were steady yearlong, industry could process much more animals properly than it is doing now and there would be no problem of keeping livestock in purchase stations. Livestock supplies in the fourth quarter are 50-70 percent higher than in the third. Supplies also differ considerably on different weekdays.

Transporting livestock to meat plants and fast slaughtering is impossible on the same day that supplies run high because of limited transport, slaughter and cold storage capacities. Putting a second shift to work in meat plants overnight is not easy, either.

Nevertheless, second shifts were put to work in the November-December period in a number of large plants. Moreover, meat plants crews worked on practically all free Saturdays in November and December and on some Sundays as well.

The increased livestock supplies must do for current market supply and for a certain reserve--about 12-14 thousand tons of meat--to be prepared from December production, especially for the third quarter of next year, when the supply of slaughter animals is expected to be lower.

EARNINGS LIMIT FOR PENSIONERS TO BE RAISED 1 JAN

LD272346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] As we have already reported, as of 1 January the vast majority of pensions and payments to the disabled will be increased. At the same time the top limit for earnings or retired people on part-time work will also be raised before their pensions will be affected.

Persons who until now were able to earn up to $24,000 a year before their pensions and disablement payments were either suspended or reduced, will now have the right, beginning next year, to earn up to $36,000.

At the same time, this right is extended to cover pensioners and those receiving disablement payments who are doing certain special jobs. The top limit for earnings of retired people or those who receive disablement payments has also been raised. This applies to those who until now have been allowed to earn up to $36,000 a year. This applies to experts in certain professions where there is a shortage of manpower and to people who would be employed in departments which are very short of staff.

For these groups the new top limit for earnings, before their pensions and disablement payments are affected, is $42,000.

SECOMSKI CITED ON LAW ON PEOPLES' COUNCILS

LD232318 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Dec (PAP)--At yesterday's meeting of chairmen of voivodship people's councils, Kazimierz Secomski, vice-president of the Council of State, head of the team for the law on people's councils, told the meeting about the present state of work on the new law.

The law which is being prepared will be entirely new. Working guidelines stress that the new legislation will dwell on the concept of democratic centralism and emphasize the growing rank of the two levels of people's councils, stating that they are the only representative bodies constituted through a general election.

The main goal of the new law on people's councils is a fuller satisfaction of social needs. It is expected that the law will give the people's councils much broader powers in the elaboration of regional plans, the distribution of means, etc. All the reserves and savings attained by people's councils will have to remain with them.

One of the leading ideas in the guidelines is the statement that the council is an independent manager of its region. Members of the councils will be the ones to make the ultimate decisions concerning direct and indirect planning, spatial development and the policy of locating new ventures. Stressed is also the status of the member of a people's council and his responsibility for the functions performed. The guidelines also suggest solutions in the field of control over the council's activity by the Sejm and the Council of State.

RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ADOPTED

AU231312 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Dec 80 p 1

[RCP Central Committee resolution adopted at 16-17 December plenary session held in Bucharest]

[Text] Convened under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, the RCP Central Committee plenum discussed from 16-17 December 1980 the following questions on the agenda:

1--Report on updating and improving the correlation--on economic principles--of production and delivery prices of products for socialist units and of production, contract and accrual prices in agriculture;

2--Report on the draft state budget for 1981;

3--Program on the people's supply for the fourth quarter of 1980 and the first quarter of 1981;

4--Report on finalizing the action aimed at increasing remuneration, pensions, children's state allowances and other incomes;

5--International issues.

Following the debates the plenary session adopted the following resolution:

I. The plenary session unanimously adopts the report on updating and improving the correlation--on economic principles--of production and delivery prices of products for socialist units and of production, contract and accrual prices in agriculture.

The plenary session fully endorses and highly appreciates the conclusions drawn and guidelines set by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, regarding the particular importance and the role of improving prices in order to make raw and other material producing sectors and all our economic activity profitable and to achieve a more appropriate relationship between various branches and subbranches of the national economy and to consistently apply the principles of the new economic-financial mechanism, to better utilize raw and other materials and to improve the quality and efficiency of the overall economic activity. The plenary session assesses that the updating of prices, viewed as a major political action, requires that each working collective take firm action to cut back material expenditures so as to considerably and additionally reduce material consumption compared with next year's plan provisions and those of the overall 5-year plan, to modernize technologies and redesign products, to fully make use of production capacities, equipment and transportation means and to achieve the planned parameters at all installations, to make efficient use of reusable material resources and eliminate any form of waste, to reduce auxiliary and nonproductive personnel and to constantly increase labor productivity. Of great importance is the fulfilling by all units of the task aimed at additionally cutting back production and circulation expenditures, so that the effect of increasing production and delivery prices of products for socialist units regarding raw and other materials, energy and fuel is compensated to the greatest extent possible.

The plenary session highly assesses the resolution of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee which, in the spirit of the concern with the working people's working conditions, establishes that the current prices of retail sales to the people be maintained in 1981, while the effect of increased production and delivery prices of industrial and agricultural products on certain consumer goods will be made up for from the state budget.

The increase in retail prices and in tariffs for services rendered to the people will take place gradually, beginning in 1982, within the framework of the 6-8 percent index envisaged by the 1981-85 5-year plan and in correlation with the planned increase in people's incomes.

II. The RCP Central Committee plenum assesses that the draft state budget for next year, drawn up under the direct guidance of the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is fully in keeping with the provisions of the uniform national plan adopted by the Grand National Assembly and in keeping with the targets and tasks of the overall economy regarding the substantial increase in the efficiency in all fields and ensuring a strict savings system and firmly applying the new economic financial mechanism.

Based on the great achievements recorded by the Romanian people during the current 5-year plan in developing the industry and agriculture and the other sectors of activity and in improving the material and cultural living standard, the 1981 state budget reflects the strength and lastingness of the Romanian economy, the stability of our country's finances and of our national currency. The draft budget ensures the necessary financial resources for carrying on the socioeconomic actions envisaged for next year.

The plenary session assesses that in the spirit of guidelines set by the party secretary general, it is necessary for the Ministry of Finance and all financial-banking bodies to take highly responsible action to achieve incomes in all sectors, to see to the proper management and use of material and financial means and to establishing a firm financial discipline and a strict sense of saving and ensure a strict observance of the country's laws and the most efficient use by all socialist units of the financial means entrusted to them.

III. The plenary session unanimously endorses the program on the people's supply for the fourth quarter of 1980 and the first half year of 1981 which was worked out on the basis of the recommendations made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, in close correlation with the provisions of the national uniform plan on socioeconomic development in 1981 and with those of the 5-year plan and with the 12th RCP Congress directives. The plenary session assesses that this program ensures the appropriate supply of the people with agricultural products and industrial consumer goods. In this respect, larger quantities of basic agricultural products and nonfood stuffs are envisaged compared with the same period last year. In envisaging the quantities of agricultural products and foodstuffs in the program, we took into consideration the application of measures aimed at judiciously managing the resources designed for the market stock, their rational and equitable regional distribution, the elimination of tendencies of over-supply and stockpiling by people and certain units for agricultural products and foodstuffs and the elimination of consumption waste along with better and greater mobilization of what is available in people's households.

The plenary session requires that the People's Councils, the central supply bodies, trade units, the party organizations and bodies and mass and civic organizations take firm action so that the plan is fulfilled and so that, on this basis, the deliveries and sales envisaged in the program are ensured and that the structure and quality of contracted products are observed and that the program provisions are completely implemented with a view to ensuring that the people are supplied as appropriately as possible with agricultural products, foodstuffs and nonfoodstuffs.

IV. The plenary session examined and endorsed the report on the 1 December 1980 conclusion of the action aimed at increasing remuneration, pensions, children's state allowances and other incomes and noted with particular satisfaction that the tasks invisaged in the program on improving the living standard in 1976-80--drafted upon the initiative and under the direct guidance of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--are being fulfilled successfully, thus ensuring the highest increase in the Romanian people's incomes ever known to the history of socialist construction in our country.

The plenary session expressed the conviction that the efforts made by our society to improve the people's well-being will constitute a continuous and forceful mobilizing factor for all our working people to perform better and more efficient work, to commendably fulfill the tasks entrusted to them and to contribute to increasing the living standard and to constantly improving the quality of life--the supreme target of our party's policy and the essence of building socialism in our fatherland.

V. The plenary session highly assesses and unanimously endorses the activity carried out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the meeting of the party and state leaders of the Warsaw Pact member countries held in Warsaw 5 December 1980 and stresses that it is fully in keeping with the 12th RCP Congress guidelines and with domestic and foreign general political line followed by our party and state.

The plenary session assesses that the reiteration by the party secretary general and president of the republic of the constructive position held by Socialist Romania aimed at strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, at cooperation among all progressive and democratic forces and at constantly promoting the cause of detente, security and peace is fully in keeping with the basic interests of our socialist nation and those of all peoples throughout the world.

The plenary session expresses satisfaction with the decision of the socialist countries at the Moscow meeting to make their contribution to improving the international atmosphere, strengthening peace, continuing the policy of detente and promoting broad international cooperation, resolving all conflicts by negotiations alone and developing relations with all states, irrespective of their social system, on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force.

Proceeding from the particularly tense international situation, from the need to unite all progressive and advanced forces in the struggle for stopping the aggravation of the international situation, for the resumption and continuation of the trend toward detente, for proceeding to tangible and efficient measures for disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament, for climinating underdevelopment and establishing a new economic order, the plenary session forcefully reiterates the determination by the RCP and Socialist Romania to continue to struggle with all their might and together with the other socialist countries, with all peace-loving countries throughout the world to constructively resolve the major and complex problems confronting the present-day world and to firmly assert the policy of peace, independence and cooperation among all nations.

Taking cognizance of the exchange of information that took place among the participants in the Moscow meeting regarding the construction of socialism and communism in their countries and of the information supplied by the PZPR representatives regarding the evolution of the situation in Poland, the Central Committee reasserts feelings of warm friendship toward the PZPR, the workers class and all Polish people and expresses its full confidence that the working people in friendly Poland, under PZPR leadership, will succeed in surmounting the difficulties that have arisen and will ensure the further development of Poland along the road of socialist construction. The plenary session expresses full solidarity and support for the struggle waged by the communists, the progressive forces, the workers class and the Polish people in rapidly resolving the problems they are confronted with in their country's socialist construction and expresses its firm conviction that the problems that have emerged in Poland can and must be solved by the Poles themselves in keeping with the interests of the Polish working people and of the general cause of socialism, peace and progress.

The RCP Central Committee highly appreciates the speech made at the end of the proceedings by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and decides that the guidelines and tasks set forth in it should constitute the foundation of the overall future activity by our party and state bodies and by all working people in the coming period.

The plenary session expresses its confidence that the documents adopted will be received with satisfaction and will mobilize the creative energies of all our people and that the working people--Romanian, Hungarian, German and other nationalities--will act, under the guidance of the party organizations, with devotion and self-denial and all their responsibility to implement the decisions set forth which are fully in keeping with the interests of our society and which ensure Romania's constant advance on the road of progress and socialist civilization.

The RCP plenary session extends warm thanks to our heroic workers class, peasants, intellectuals and to all working people, irrespective of nationality, as well as warm congratulations for their overall work and for the successes achieved in fulfilling the plan targets of the country's socioeconomic development and wishes them new and greater successes in their future activity and on the occasion of the new year--much good health and happiness.

CEAUSESCU SPEECH TO RCP PLENARY MEETING 17 DEC

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[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at 17 December RCP Central Committee plenum held in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, at the conclusion of the Central Committee plenum, I want to stress a few questions in connection with the reports and papers that were under discussion here and that were unanimously endorsed. As a matter of fact, one can state that the current plenary meeting is a natural continuation of that held in October when we discussed and endorsed the plan on Romania's socioeconomic development in 1981. The current Central Committee plenum also examined questions of particular importance for our fatherland's socioeconomic development and for improving the material and cultural living standard of all our people.

In connection with the 1981 budget, I must stress that an appropriate increase in incomes is ensured, especially from profits and other economic activities, a fact that secures the necessary financial means for implementing the socioeconomic development program and for improving the living standard and for achieving other social measures. The provisions on the 1981 expenditures are also in keeping with the development plan and with the provisions of improving our living standard and of ensuring solutions to other social problems. We must especially note the stress that is placed on reducing expenditures in all fields of activity, especially in the administrative and nonproductive fields. The provisions also aim at accentuating the communist spirit of rationally making use of the means available at a given time and that must be utilized with maximum efficiency, thus ensuring the society's development, both that of the material-technical basis for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and the implementation of the social program of improving the people's material and cultural well-being.

As you have noted, the draft budget that was presented here and was unanimously adopted--and I hope that the Grand National Assembly will also adopt it unanimously--envisages quite considerable reserves. Taken as a whole, we have an important budgetary surplus even if we take into consideration the fact that part of those reserves were secured to resolve possible problems that may emerge in applying the measures aimed at updating and correlating prices and in connection with introducing a new system into foreign trade. However, even under such conditions we have still an important surplus so that, while securing sources in the course of the year, we have to think of making appropriate use of our surplus both for developing the socioeconomic basis and for other fields that prove necessary. What we have to keep in mind is to secure and increase this surplus by further cutting back spending in all sectors of activity.

We must also keep in mind that in 1980 we were not able to resolve--as necessary--a number of problems linked to the application of the new economic mechanism of proceeding to self-management in all units, including sociocultural units. This is due to slow actions by our state bodies, especially our financial ones, in formulating bills that will ensure that the principle of self-management is applied in all units. It is therefore necessary that in the shortest possible time--at the latest in the first quarter--these documents be finalized, so that there will be appropriate legal norms and regulations on the basis of which we will be able to organize our activity according to this principle. Up to then, however, all our institutions and all units must work out their own budgets of incomes and expenditures and must organize their activity on the principle of self-management.

What is stressed especially in the budget is the need to increase the responsibility of financial bodies, of the Ministry of Finance, of county financial units, banks and of all sectors and socioeconomic units for a smooth and uniform economic-financial activity. We must frankly state that our financial bodies at all levels have not fulfilled their responsibilities under legal provisions to a sufficient extent; they have not taken enough action to secure incomes in all sectors and to ensure the proper management and use of financial means. They have not taken firm action against waste and to introduce firm financial discipline and a strict saving spirit and a spirit of properly managing all sectors of activity. Therefore, our overall financial apparatus--which is actually quite large--must constantly fulfill its duties in keeping with legal provisions. It is necessary for counties to think of uniting their financial bodies. We must also concern ourselves to a greater extent with increasing the activity of our banking system--which plays an important role in the management of financial means--and that of the financial sectors at all organizational levels, beginning with ministries down to the bottom, to the last unit. It is also necessary to increase the concern of our collective leadership bodies, of the working people's councils, of executive bureaus and of directors who have great responsibilities in the unfolding of the economic-financial activity and who must not leave this very important problem only for financial bodies; on the contrary, they must exercise very effective and constant control over those bodies and must bear responsibility, in keeping with the law, for each lei spent and for the achievement of planned incomes.

It is also necessary for us to understand that we must reduce and not increase production stockpiles. We must see that, if possible, we do not have to ask for credits in any form. Enterprises must organize their activity in such a manner that they can operate on the basis of the principle of self-financing, that they are able to achieve and sell products as rapidly as possible so as to ensure their necessary financial means without resorting to credits. Any credit--even under our conditions of low interest rates--leads to an unjustifiable increase in production costs. Therefore, units must take firm action to apply the principle of self-management, self-financing and self-administration, so as to secure their own financial means and cut back to the minimum and even rule out credits for financing their activity.

It is also necessary that firm action be taken by all ministries, including the Ministry of Finance, to no longer accept an increase in foreign credits in any form and to no longer appeal, in any form, to imports of credits by firmly applying the principle we have repeatedly discussed in connection with compensating any imports by appropriate exports. We must take action to cut back and eliminate foreign credits in a few years. In this respect, the draft budget--which has already been submitted to the Grand National Assembly and its permanent commissions--envisages very firm duties for the Ministry of Finance which must supervise and bear responsibility for the foreign balance of payments and must no longer accept, in any form, that planned foreign expenditures be exceeded. I want to stress this because I want you to understand that greater order and discipline and greater responsibility must be introduced in the financial sector. The Ministry of Finance must better fulfill its duties in our socialist economic system than up to now.

In connection with updating and improving the correlation of production and delivery prices of products for socialist units and of production, contract and accrual prices in agriculture, I would like to stress only a few aspects. First, why are these measures necessary now? As a matter of fact, had we performed appropriate work these updating and correlation problems in conformity with legal provisions should have been resolved each year so that we would not have had to take such action now. I must stress that this action was not taken in time and in an appropriate manner. True, meantime certain special situations have emerged in the economy, thus posing more difficult and greater problems than just an annual improvement. First and foremost, I am referring to the increase in production costs in the case of oil, coal and other raw materials achieved at home. We must state that at this point the delivery price of those products to industry is much lower than their cost price--not to mention the production price--which means that, in actual fact, the activity in those sectors is subsidized from the state budget. I would not like to discuss now why these costs have increased so much. There are also objective causes linked to the fact that we have to extract oil from greater depths; everyone understands that it is one thing to extract oil from 1,500-2,000 meters and quite another thing to extract it from 5,000-6,000 meters. There are also more difficult conditions in coal extraction and in the extraction of other raw materials; at the same time, in the case of certain deposits the content of useful substances is more reduced, a factor which also leads to increased extraction costs. However, there are also problems linked to the organization of work, to the proper management of means and to waste which are still felt in that sector.

At the same time, we must keep in mind that in this period of time prices of oil products, of energy resources and generally of raw materials have increased considerably at a world level. The oil price increased a few times and we import some 50 percent of the coal used for energy purposes and coke. For a number of branches we partially or totally import the needed raw materials. We discussed these problems at our October plenum and I do not now wish to refer to them again. We have supplied the industry with products--including oil--at very low prices making up for the difference in the import price from the state budget. In actual fact, this subsidy--both at home and abroad--totals some scores of billion lei annually.

It is obvious that for various reasons this situation cannot continue. If we continue to deliver oil, coal and other raw materials obtained in our country at lower prices than their real costs and do not ensure a minimum profit, we will actually not stimulate the activity in enterprises and develop our domestic raw material production. Second, we will thus accustom the respective enterprises and working collectives to the idea that it is not necessary for them to concern themselves with the cost of products they manufacture, that this would be the concern of the state, no matter the cost. Thus, we actually hamper the application in those important sectors of the new economic mechanism--the principle of self-management and workers's self-administration. At the same time, however, the processing sectors achieve very high profits and very often unjustifiable ones as a result of being financed by the state budget. Thus, they seem to have carried out a very positive activity with great profits which also leads to greater participation in profits, however, not as a result of their own efforts and activity, but due to some 70 billion lei from the state budget. In this manner we will not encourage the correct application in processing enterprises of the principle of self-management and self-administration in keeping with the efforts made by each working collective and with the real contribution made by them to the development of the national economy.

It goes without saying that such states of affairs can no longer continue. Moreover, one can say that by such a system we push processing enterprises toward large and unjustifiable consumption because, if we take into consideration oil, coke, ores and other raw materials obtained at low prices, these enterprises think that they do not have to pay too great attention to them. [paragraph continues]

They do not understand why the party-state leadership is acting in this direction, why the press makes so much ado about cutting back costs when they hold but a small share in the total volume of expenditures. After all, examining and assessing things correctly, a state of discouragement and an antieconomic practice will be created in our activity. Therefore, we must completely stop this state of affairs. We have decided to do it now. We cannot wait any longer; with the beginning of the new year and the new 5-year plan, we must apply these measures in all branches of the economy, so as to begin our entire activity on a new basis that will permit the appropriate and consistent application of the new economic mechanism--the principle of workers' self-management and self-administration.

On the basis of those measures the raw and other material producing sectors are made profitable, a fact that will permit them to record appropriate profits. At the same time, in the processing industry, especially in machine-building, a reduction of some billion lei of the total volume of production, calculated under the 1980 conditions, will take place following the complete application of those measures. A certain reduction will also take place in the light industry and in other sectors. It is actually a transfer of profitability and profits from the processing sectors to the raw material producing sectors, thus achieving a better correlation between branches. We will probably not be able to ensure complete correlation and order from the very beginning; however, we must continue to act--the law actually envisages this--so that we will take measures each year to preserve an appropriate relation between branches in the distribution of profits and in ensuring the profitability and efficiency of each sector of activity. Only in this manner will we be able to exactly asess how much we have to spend on a product, proceeding from the real costs of raw materials and from the real cost of labor; only thus will we able to know what price we can ask for it and what our profits are, if that given product is profitable, if we are economically efficient and if we are competitive with what is being achieved at a world level.

We believe that the application of those measures in industry, construction, transportation and in other nonagricultural sectors will have a positive effect and will contribute to strengthening order in all fields, in our economy generally, will create the necessary conditions for completely applying the principles of self-management and self-administration and will make each economic unit examine the way it works and what it yields to society and will create conditions for intensified efforts aimed at improving the activity in the overall economy.

In industry, as well as in all the other sectors, we will try to see that no change occurs in retail prices in 1981, that is, in the prices of industrial products sold to the people. All this concerns relations between producers and represents, so to speak, a better correlation, thus avoiding and eliminating certain contradictions between various producers of material goods; thus incentives are created for all and conditions for them to smoothly and jointly act to develop the overall national economy.

The second part of that action refers to updating production, contract and accrual prices in agriculture. First and foremost, we took into consideration working out uniform prices between the state and private cooperative sector to ensure the same prices for the same products and of the same quality, so that producers have equal conditions. Thus each one will receive the same price for an equal quantity of products; if they have a larger production and of better quality they will certainly have appropriately greater incomes. Thus, on the basis of equal prices we will stimulate the struggle for large and high-quality outputs in the vegetable, grain and animal sectors.

We believe that the prices set cover expenses and are stimulative, thus ensuring appropriate profits, even in the case of not too large or medium outputs. Compared with average production of 3,000 kg of wheat, we certainly have units yielding 6,000-7,000 kg. [paragraph continues]

It is clear that they will achieve twice as much. They will achieve an equal amount for the same ton, but overall they will achieve twice as much. The same applies to corn, to the animal sector and so forth. Thus, prices are profitable in the case of lower outputs as well, thus permitting a--one can say--limitless increase in incomes if the production also increases limitlessly. Those who yield 10 tons of grain per hectare will gain threefold as much as those who yield only 3,000 tons. The same applies to milk, meat and vegetables and so forth.

Thus we are introducing a simple system to be understood by all people. We will set uniform prices and everyone will have to act to achieve as high an output as possible. Each cooperative, each unit can thus become a millionaire if it performs appropriate work. I want to stress this because it is necessary for you to understand that the prices we will set now are the maximum we can pay, that the question of efficiency in agriculture--as well as in the other sectors--is not linked to a continuous increase in prices, but to increasing agricultural production. I want every one to understand, both the comrades in agriculture and the first secretaries and all the comrades who are Central Committee members present here that these problems must be discussed with the working people in a very serious manner, as well as with all peasants, both cooperative members and private peasants. All of our people must understand that we will not be able to set higher prices, that they ensure an important increase in incomes as a result of work performed and a result of increasing agricultural production--and it is in this direction that we have to channel our efforts.

We have also taken into consideration that profitability in the agricultural machine stations is ensured. Therefore, we even set some higher prices by taking into consideration that the state and cooperative units should be able to adequately cover the current expenses of agricultural machine stations for mechanizing work. In this sector, too, we have envisaged a cutback of at least 1.5 billion lei in expenditures recorded at this time. You know very well that we have agricultural machine stations which record profitability, but also numerous agricultural machine stations working badly with very high state subsidies. We will no longer grant any state subsidies; I am referring to running expenses. Certainly, investments in agricultural machine stations shall be further covered by the state. However, we must see how each agricultural machine station is working and how it used its machinery. There are many things we have to discuss in agriculture and in agricultural machine stations, but I do not want to refer to them in this plenum. We will have a special meeting on such subjects in January before the agricultural congress.

Thus we want to introduce the principle of self-management and self-administration into the agricultural machine stations and in all other units. They cooperate with state enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives. We must also organize smaller stations in noncooperativized areas equipped with large major machines which we shall also rent to peasants in noncooperativized hilly and mountainous areas. We must ensure that these fees are as low as possible, that the activity of mechanizers and of machine stations is efficient so that it does not burden the production expenses of agricultural units to a great extent.

As the Political Executive Committee decisions actually envisaged, we have to see that retail prices in 1981 will not increase in either agricultural products and foodstuffs or in industrial products, so that, in conformity with the 12th congress decisions the products which are sold to the people will be profitable in 1982-1983 in the following years in step with the application of measures aimed at increasing incomes. In 1981 and the following years, up to when these products will be profitable, we will grant subsidies from the state budget for products sold to the people, so as to maintain current prices. This certainly is not an economical measure either, but we will apply it until we are able to proceed in applying the measures set forth by the 12th congress which envisage that for the overall 5-year plan the prices for consumer goods shall increase 6-8 percent, while real remuneration will increase 16-18 percent. [paragraph continues]

Thus, in step with applying the increase in remuneration and the other measures for improving the living standard, we will also proceed in regulating prices in conformity with our decisions in order to maintain and ensure the envisaged increase in incomes and to place the trade activity on economic principles.

It is in the interest of all working people and all people to ensure an appropriate profitability in all economic branches, so that our activity will be carried out on the basis of economic laws, because only thus will we have a healthy development and a really improved living standard. We proceeded from these principles when we worked out the measures adopted today unanimously by the party Central Committee.

It is necessary to firmly proceed to the application of all measures envisaged and primarily to introducing the new prices at the beginning of next year in as correct as possible a manner. It is further necessary to take firm action to identify the new opportunities of cutting back material consumption and production expenditures. Today's discussions stressed certain aspects. Some examples were given which showed that there are products in which we must and can reduce metal consumption by 20 percent and in which the production time can be reduced threefold which actually means a reduction of material expenditure and production costs. In the final analysis, material expenditures themselves reflect the work time we spent in the past and the labor productivity.

We must take resolute measures to collect and reutilize materials, to recondition and recover machine parts and elements. This point has been discussed in the past and several examples were mentioned here; however, we must resolutely endeavor to generalize this practice. Alone by collecting, reconditioning and reutilizing materials, parts and subassemblies, we can save at least $700-800 million worth of raw material imports yearly, as opposed to what is currently the case. I am stressing this because we must implement to the letter the measures established for each sector, and must appropriately reutilize existing materials. I will ask the first county secretaries to examine this issue and supervise its realization daily, since it is of a particular importance for our socioeconomic development.

We must resolutely ensure maximum utilization of all existing production facilities and attain the planned parameters of all plants, installations and machinery. In this area, too, we have reserves totaling several hundred millions of dollars annually--in terms of itemized production and at satisfactory prices--probably well over $500 million annually. Such facilities exist in all sectors, hence I will not enumerate them. This constitutes another important facet of the measures to cut back expenses and to cover all production requirements with the materials approved.

And finally, we must also implement the decisions taken on completing investment projects on schedule and shortening execution periods. No investment project should be started before all preparations are completed and before we are sure that the building time currently required at the international level for similar projects will not be exceeded. We have the necessary conditions for this, and we must radically improve economic activities in the area of investments, too.

If we can solve problems satisfactorily in just these several major areas, then the targets concerning further reduction of material and production expenditures will be not merely achieved, but considerably exceeded.

Naturally, we must take measures to implement our program on increasing labor productivity and cutting back nonproductive personnel. In point of fact, we agreed in October that application of this measure, appropriate labor organization, mechanization and automation of production processes will bring about a marked increase in labor productivity and reflect on all economic activities.

To attain the above, each collective of working people must grasp that the new economic mechanism, self-management and self-administration are not empty slogans, but must become basic principles and forms of leadership of the national economy. Each unit must carry out profitable and efficient activities, so that it can repay society for its investments within a given period of time, secure profits and new means of further growth and development, thus contributing to raising the people's well-being.

As we said at our other meeting, including that of October, regional administrative units--communes, towns and counties--should themselves effect the transition to self-management and economic-financial self-administration within a few years.

As you heard here, we have obtained rather good results in several counties, within the shortest possible times, each locality, commune and town must switch to self-administration and self-management. Naturally, for this we must improve the budgets and economic-financial activities of each locality; production incomes must increase, expenditures must be reduced, and citizens must intensify their participation in the administration and socioeconomic development of their localities.

The same applies at county level. We hope to implement our decisions more rapidly, so that within 2-3 years all counties should be capable of producing their own agricultural produce and foodstuffs--with the exception of a few, industrial counties with less agricultural land available, whose requirements will be supplemented from agricultural counties. The program--with which the county comrades, and I hope all Central Committee members, are familiar--was worked out so that each county can produce grain and vegetables in accordance with its land area. Counties with fewer possibilities will be helped by other counties, but in exchange they must make maximum use of hayfields and pastureland and considerably develop the zootechnical sector--in accordance with climatic and land conditions must produce maximum yields and most productive crops, thus meeting their requirements.

Regarding livestock, we want each county to have its own animal breeding units: pigs, poultry, sheep and cattle--even if we shall have to deliver fodder concentrates to some of them--so that consumption requirements can be met locally and the due amounts delivered to the state stock. Those employed in agriculture and those who live in villages or towns and possess land must participate in agricultural activities, must organize their production and secure the means for satisfactory supplies.

It must be clear to all that self-management and self-administration are a must for the development of our society, and constitute a very important aspect of economic democracy and of democracy in general. However, the most important thing to grasp is that our socialist society cannot develop unless production increases yearly in all sectors, unless agricultural, vegetable and animal production increase considerably in the coming 5-year plan. Hence, we decided to enhance the responsibilities of localities, counties and producers for securing adequate supplies. For this purpose we also established prices that can provide a financial incentive for the development of agricultural production.

On the basis of the above, we must take resolute steps to enhance economic efficiency in all sectors. Greater emphasis must be put on better utilizing raw materials, so that highly processed, high-quality products can be manufactured with the same amount of raw materials. This is the only way to fulfill the program envisaging greater profitability and efficiency in all sectors, and higher incomes for the units, for the working people and for the nation. This will also create greater possibilities for developing the society as a whole, for raising the people's material and intellectual living standard.

We must bear in mind that only through the productive work of all working people, only by improving the utilization of raw materials and production quality can we increase efficiency and secure conditions for our fatherland's progress, for implementing the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

At the same time, we must not for a moment forget that we are still importing considerable volumes of raw materials--something we discussed in October--and that we must achieve an active foreign trade; in order to import we must also export. We must become competitive in international markets from technological and qualitative as well as economic viewpoints so that we can actively participate in the division of labor both within CEMA and in cooperation with other socialist countries, and in the international division of labor, on the basis of competitive products and efficiency.

Comrades, the plenary session examined the program on increasing the working people's incomes. The results of the application of measures in this area are known. Generally speaking, increases have been in keeping with the national conference decisions; thus, real remunerations increased by about 19 percent throughout the 5-year plan, far more than initially envisaged. However, bearing in mind the increase in the working people's income--from salaries and other state sources, which have also increased accordingly--and the fact that over 1 million people were hired in various sectors, it can be said that the people's real incomes increased in a fact by over 40 percent, something which attests to the huge steps we have marked during this 5-year plan in completing the first stage of the 11th congress implementation.

As evidenced by the supply program for the 5-year plan, consumption levels--foodstuffs and industrial products--also increased accordingly: by over 30 percent in terms of actual goods, not in financial terms.

The program we unanimously endorsed today ensured fulfillment of the plan provisions for the fourth quarter, and achievement of the levels of major products consumption we envisaged for the 5-year plan. Meat consumption is now 62 kg per capita, as opposed to 16 kg in 1950, 26 kg in 1965 and 45 kg in 1975. As you see, meat consumption increased greatly during this period. The same applies to practically all staples: oil, sugar, vegetables, milk, eggs and so forth. We have arrived at a consumption of about 3,000 calories per capita--and even higher according to some estimates--which is quite sufficient, if not too much. I want to add that for the first half year we have equally appropriate provisions, in accordance with the plan for 1981.

However, it must be said that in this 5-year plan we have also had poor years in agriculture, although overall agricultural growth was satisfactory--over 25 percent. This year, too, unfavorable weather conditions created difficulties and delays of 3-4 weeks in agricultural production, which were undoubtedly responsible for shortages of certain products in the supply system. Production levels even dropped, both as a result of the weather, but also due to unsatisfactory work in certain units and counties. Since this problem has been discussed in the past, I shall not dwell on it. Generally speaking, however, we applied the measures established some time ago at a Central Committee plenary session and endeavored to secure market supplies in accordance with the plan by reducing exports substantially. In fact, we exported nothing of most products, especially this year, and even imported certain products. Even next year we envisage importing certain products to cover requirements. However, it must be clear that these efforts reflected rather considerably on our balance of foreign payments.

The program envisaged ensures for the first half of the year quantities of basic agricultural produce and foodstuffs in accordance with plan provisions and increased consumption, in view of the fact that we must resolutely struggle to maintain and consolidate our achievements in this area.

We must frankly state that some of the shortages noted during this period were totally unjustified, because since deliveries were in accordance with the plan, the 5-6 percent supplies consumed more than last year are not sufficient to justify such shortages, except of course for the delayed appearance of certain vegetables and other products on the market caused by unfavorable weather. But even those supply delays were made up for.

So what was the reason for these shortages, comrades? Aside from delays recorded in agricultural production, the shortages were primarily caused by totally unjustified stockpiling of agricultural produce practiced by some citizens and units. However, the rule is that products should be distributed daily and regularly, so as to ensure adequate supplies throughout the season and in accordance with the quantities envisaged in the plan and dictated by consumer requirements.

There have also been failings in the activities of domestic trade bodies, in the distribution of the goods stock and in sales organization--deficiencies which were however solved in the meantime and are not likely to create special problems. It must be clearly understood however, that consumption levels cannot exceed plan provisions. We can consume more than has been envisaged for 1981 only if we produce more, and only after other requirements of the national economy have been met. We have planned annual consumption increases in keeping with the potential and rate of development of our national economy. This must be understood by the entire party, by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and by all our citizens! This line, endorsed by the entire party and by all our people at the party congress and through elections to the Grand National Assembly--when the program and planned consumption levels were presented--must be strictly observed. It must be clear to all of us that our society cannot consume more than the current level of production and labor productivity. As I have repeatedly stated: We cannot compare ourselves with a few highly developed countries, with the rich--in the terminology of the developing countries--because they amassed their riches by exploiting scores of peoples, hundreds and hundreds of millions of peoples. They manage to maintain their level also by exploiting poorer countries. It must be understood that we cannot hope to attain overnight consumption levels far beyond our possibilities, beyond the results of the socioeconomic development of our country. I repeat, our level of consumption of agricultural produce and foodstuffs is fairly high; it is sufficient to meet physiological requirements from both the viewpoint of calories and that of product structure. Let us take a 3-person family as an example. At the present level of consumption, this family can consume more than 500 grams of meat a day, more than 2 eggs, close to 2 kg of milk, over 1.2 kg of vegetables, over 1/2 kg potatoes, and of course, adequate amounts of bread. To this we can add fish, other products, fruit and so forth. Hence, economically speaking, we can say that the current consumption level ensures satisfactory nutrition for any family; hence, it must be clear that should one consume more, he does so at the expense of others. We cannot supply more than 62 kg of meat! And if one wants to eat 100 kg, he will clearly do so at the expense of others. We must have a correct understanding of the spirit of social equity, of socialist equity, which implies a certain self-control. That is to say, this area, too, must be governed by personal conscience and self-discipline. Each person must understand that he should only buy as much as society can afford at a given moment. The principles of ethics and equity are not just for display or for conferences, but for daily life. Our party, trade union, youth and other organizations must clarify these things; each citizen must be made to understand that team spirit, social coexistence mean taking into account the possibilities of the society and personal contribution to its development.

I am dwelling on this problem because we must radically uproot some people's tendency to consume more. In accordance with the program provisions--which are identical with those of the 1981 plan--we have the necessary supplies to satisfy daily requirements. I want to reiterate what I said before: When counties achieve supplementary supplies in various areas, they can--in accordance with the law--enjoy additional quantities of agricultural produce and foodstuffs. The same applies to industrial products.

We must put an end to all ill-intented rumors--sometimes spread by malevolent, hostile elements--concerning price increases. Prices will be increased, as I said and as is envisaged in the 5-year plan, in the course of the entire 5-year plan, in step with the application of measures envisaged in our system of increasing incomes and remunerations, as was the cause during the current 5-year plan.

For 1981 we have worked out a program of measures which must be resolutely implemented both in agriculture and in industry to increase consumer production. These matters have been discussed in the past, and we must firmly pursue them with a view to ensuring satisfactory public supplies in accordance with provisions. The activities of small-scale industry and services must be developed more rapidly, so as to cover certain needs which are currently not entirely met, for which we have the necessary conditions, and which must be covered in the shortest possible period.

I want to end by recalling that we are now at the end of the year and of the 5-year plan. Although only a few days are left until the end of the year, everything possible must be done to complete the production envisaged, to deliver this production to domestic or foreign trade units, and to ship it, in view of the vital importance of exports. We must take steps to complete and commission investment projects--many of which are now being test-run--thus ensuring satisfactory results in this area. We must do our utmost to deliver the entire production envisaged for this month for export, which must be delivered this month. Similarly, measures must be taken--as we decided in October--to thoroughly prepare for the 1981 plan, so that it can be carried out in the best conditions.

Comrades, I will not now speak about international matters. I have informed the plenary session on the Moscow meeting. We believe that the communique released reflects the positions jointly adopted and the concern to make every effort for a policy of detente, peace, national independence and settling conflicts through negotiations, as well as concern to ensure the success of the Madrid conference. It is in this spirit that our party has been and is consistently acting in accordance with the guidelines and decisions of the 12th congress.

We expressed, and I want to reiterate at this plenary session, our solidarity with the PZPR, with the Polish workers class and people, and our confidence that the problems that have emerged in friendly Poland will be solved by its party, by the Polish workers class and people in close unity, thus ensuring Poland's socialist development, strengthening its cooperation with the other socialist countries, and bolstering its active participation in settling international problems, in the struggle for a policy of peace, detente and national independence.

Comrades, I want to end by stressing that our plenary session, as a continuation of the October plenary session, has adopted very important decisions which will play a decisive role for the fulfillment of the 1981 plan, for the socioeconomic development of our fatherland and for raising the people's general living standard. We must make every effort to continuously strengthen unity within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and among all working people, regardless of nationality. We must do everything possible to continuously raise the role of the workers class--the leading class in our society--in all sectors of activity, to discuss and solve the various problems concerning our socioeconomic development with the workers class, with the other social classes and with all working people, regardless of nationality, thus ensuring the people's active participation in implementing our party-state domestic and foreign policies and the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania.

We must not for a moment forget the need to strengthen ties and contacts with the working masses, with the workers class. We must permanently keep in mind the great sense of responsibility and the high moral standards of our workers class.

I was greatly impressed by a letter received from a group of 12 miners injured in the grave accident of Livezeni, in the Jiu Valley. In this letter, sent from the hospital, these workers expressed wholehearted thanks, as they put it, to the party and state leadership, who understood their difficult situation and came to their aid from the very first moment. [paragraph continues]

They expressed thanks to the physicians and the party aktiv, thus showing that even in their difficult situation they are aware of the fact that our party--which is the leading political force in our society--is the only guarantee for the dignity and honorable place of the workers class in our socialist society, for its well-being and happiness and that of all the people. This noble ethical and moral attitude is indeed an example of the sound judgment of the miners, among them several soldiers employed there. Even at their most difficult moments they turn their thoughts to the party, in which they see the guarantee for their recovery, for care for their families, for an ever better life for all our people. (loud applause)

I want to convey thanks to those workers, and to all the miners who have been in this situation and who have shown a great workers' revolutionary spirit. At the same time, I want to express most sincere compassion for the families of the working people who lost their lives on duty in that grave accident. I wish the injured miners a speedy recovery; I wish them and their families health and happiness, and I want to assure them that our party will always care for them, as for the entire workers class and all our people, and will strive to make each one's life ever more dignified and better from all viewpoints.

As we are almost at the end of the year, I want to wish all the communists and all party organizations success in their work. I want to convey best New Year wishes to the entire workers class, to all working people, regardless of nationality, to all our people. I wish you success in your future activities, and a happy New Year. (loud and prolonged applause)

SANTIAGO CARRILLO ARRIVES IN BUCHAREST 27 DEC

AU272024 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Dec (AGERPRES)--On December 27, in response to an invitation to him by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, Santiago Carrillo secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, arrived in Bucharest. Santiago Carrillo is accompanied by Jaime Ballesteros, member of the Executive committee, Secretary of the CC of the Spanish Communist Party.

The guests were welcomed by Iosif Banc and Virgil Cazacu, members of the Political Executive Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, Ghizela Vass, member of the CC of the RCP, by party activists. Attending was Jose Carlos Gonzalez-Campo Dal-Re, Spanish ambassador in Bucharest.

BANGLADESH DEPUTY PREMIER MEETS WITH OFFICIALS

Meeting With Niculescu

AU252027 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Dec (AGERPRES)--Paul Niculescu, deputy prime minister of Romania and minister of finance, had an interview with Jamaluddin Ahmed, deputy prime minister and minister of industries of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, who heads an economic delegation on a Romanian visit.

They discussed questions of mutual interest regarding the development and diversification of the relations of economic collaboration and of the commercial exchanges between Romania and Bangladesh, in the light of the summit understandings.

Meeting With Ceausescu

AU262106 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Dec (AGERPRES)--On December 26 President Nicolae Ceausescu was called on by Jamaluddin Ahmed, deputy prime minister, minister of industries of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, who now visits Romania at head of a governmental economic delegation. Attending the interview was Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

The guest conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu and to Elena Ceausescu a warm salute from the president of the P.R. Bangladesh, General Ziaur Rahman and his wife, Mrs. Ziaur Rahman, alongside with wishes of good health, happiness and prosperity for the Romanian people. He assessed highly the achievements of the Romanian people in the construction of a modern economy.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and, in his own behalf and in behalf of Elena Ceausescu, addressed to the president of the P.R. Bangladesh and to his wife a warm salute and best wishes on the new year.

During the interview the sides expressed satisfaction at the ascending course followed by the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Bangladesh, relations that develop continuously. Both sides manifest the wish to further develop the collaboration and cooperation between the two countries, to find fresh ways and possibilities of diversifying the bilateral economic collaboration.

Tackling some topical aspects of the international situation the sides highlighted the need of resuming and consolidating the policy of detente, peace and observance of the national independence, of solving peacefully, by means of negotiations, the tensions and conflicts that still exist in various zones of the world. The sides stressed the importance of intensifying the collaboration and solidarity among the developing and nonaligned countries and brought to the fore the need of liqudating the phenomenon of underdevelopment and of setting in a new international economic order apt to secure the multilateral development of all the peoples, of the lagging ones in particular, of passing on to firm measures of halting the arms race, of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament first of all, of setting in new interstate relations.

VISITING MALI DELEGATION MEETS WITH OFFICIALS

AU262101 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Dec (AGERPRES)--At the conclusion of the visit paid to Romania over December 22-26, the delegation of the Union Democratique du Peuple Malien, headed by M. M'Bouille Siby, member of the Central Executive Committee of the UDPM, deputy secretary for organizational questions, called on Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The head of the UDPM delegation eulogized the successes of the Romanian people in the entire social-political life and highlighted the contribution made by Socialist Romania to the cause of detente, peace and collaboration internationally.

The UDPM delegation called on and had talks at the GTUCR Central Council, the CC of the UCY, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the National Council of Women. The delegation also visited some economic, social and cultural objectives.

OLTEANU GREETS SFRY COUNTERPART; ARMY DAY PARTY HELD

AU191732 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary of national defense of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on the 39th anniversary of the People's Army Day of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On this occasion, a festive meeting took place this afternoon at the Central Army House in Bucharest.

Party Held

AU241428 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Dec 80 p 3

[Text] On the 39th anniversary of the Yugoslav People's Army, Nikola Rodic, military, air and naval attache of Yugoslavia to Bucharest, gave a cocktail party on Monday.

Col Gen Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff, generals and high-ranking officers and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the leadership of other ministries and central institutions attended the cocktail party.

Heads of diplomatic missions accredited in our country, military attaches and members of the diplomatic corps were also present.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, UNITY FRONT PLENUM HELD

AU232145 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Dec (AGERPRES)--On December 23, the plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] was held in Bucharest.

The second part of the meeting, also attended by members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization [SDUO] was carried on under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

The plenary meeting debated a report concerning the tasks of SDUF and of SDUO for the implementation of the plan for economic and social development in 1981 and for increasing the production of consumer goods, the report on the activity carried on by the SDUF councils for translating into life the tasks comprised in President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the 2d Congress of the SDUF, regarding the organization of the "rostrum of democracy," the program concerning the organization of the second national conference dedicated to the working people's control, and the plan of activity for the first half of 1981.

In connection with the problems on the agenda numerous participants took the floor expressing their total adhesion to the plan provisions for 1981, approved by the recent plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and by the Grand National Assembly. They highlighted that these provisions ensure the dynamic and balanced development of the national economy as a whole, in conditions of increased economic efficiency, and implementation of the program of raising the welfare of the people. It was also appreciated that the plan, for the next year is a realistic, rational plan, which takes into account the needs and also the possibilities of developing the national economy.

It was noted at the plenary meeting that the "rostrum of democracy" was periodically organized, in localities, and districts, in the form of public meetings, where citizens met with representatives of the party and state bodies, with deputies, head-managers in the economy, and were answered questions regarding a series of theoretical and practical aspects of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and of the state, of the construction of socialism, of international life. It was shown that within the framework of the "rostrum of democracy" citizens addressed thanks to the RCP leadership, to President Nicolae Ceausescu for the opportunity they were given to directly participate in decision-making and in the implementation of the external and internal policy of the party and the state. It was also highlighted that the democratic essence of this new institution, in consensus with the legitimate aspirations of the citizens to become more profoundly involved in the life of the community, met the efforts of the SDUF councils and of the party bodies to ensure an ever greater efficiency to the "rostrum of democracy," so that it may assert itself in the life of the society from the very beginning.

Within the framework of the plenary meeting suggestions were made for continuous improvement of the "rostrum of democracy," of the content and the organizational framework of the monthly public meetings.

The plenary meeting unanimously adopted the documents debated. At the close of the plenary meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

MARTINOVIC REPORTS ON 'CALM' SITUATION IN POLAND

AU272014 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 80

[Text] Our review of events of the past week in the world is first about Europe, or more precisely Poland where, as Lazar Martinovic, BORBA correspondent in Warsaw, reports, the party and government actively work under complex conditions for a settlement of social and economic problems:

A year is coming to an end which in Polish history will go down as the year in which the people have decided to find a socialist model of humanism, freedom, reason and justice. Everything has calmed down during these holidays. Every adult Pole has an opportunity to analyze in detail--within his family and among his friends, unburdened by daily events and psychological pressure--everything that has happened and that is in store for him. For the first time, he does this with a deep conviction that he no longer is merely an object to be governed and managed, but a subject whose position and views must be taken into account.

This momentary and apparent calm nevertheless does not lull anybody in the illusion that ways have been found out of the political crisis, that all the disagreements have been overcome between the authorities and the new trade unions, that the economic situation is improving or that outside pressure is ending.

The church has been most active in the past few days. It knew how to use its great chance and gather millions of Poles to their television sets to hear the message of their Pope and to their radio sets to hear religious sermons, and to bring them to churches to pray for themselves and for Poland. This extraordinary pilgrimage had a political taint in addition to the religious one, but at the moment this benefits the country more than it can harm it.

The party looks at these activities benevolently, for the church is a precious partner in its efforts for the national integrity of society. Neither side wants to misuse this peculiar symbiosis. And how could they, since the mother of God with Christ in her arms instead of the traditional symbol of the workers struggle appeared on the recently consecrated banner of the new workers' union.

Although the government has been making tremendous efforts to improve supplies at least for the holidays, no tangible results could be observed. The difficult economic situation could be felt more than ever at the Polish Christmas table. The new Solidarity trade union is incessantly in action. Although it endeavors to master the workers' feelings, these are nevertheless slipping out of control in some places. One of the reasons disturbing the holiday feelings in some places was again supplies. The Solidarity trade union also protests because of nonimplementation of the agreement on introducing a 5-day work week.

According to the latest Poliitburo assessment, the seething in the party continues. Tones of sharp denunciation of the past prevail, but at the same time constructive proposals and concrete plans of actions are appearing in the direction of remedying the situation in the country.

In the foreign political field, the visit of Jozef Czyrek, Polish minister of foreign affairs, to Moscow attracts attention. The Poles have recently developed special sense organs for such events. In the reports published, and especially those on Brezhnev's meeting with Czyrek, one notices here that nothing at all was said about antisocialist forces in Poland, but the danger of imperialist diversion against socialist Poland was emphasized much more strongly than before. This, too, may be very significant.

DOLANC RECEIVES VISITING CPSU STUDY DELEGATION

LD241526 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)--Stane Dolanc, Presidium member of the LCY Central Committee, today received a CPSU study delegation led by Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the propaganda department of the CPSU Central Committee. During the conversation, in which Milojko Drulovic, Presidium executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee, took part as well, Dolanc spoke of the socioeconomic and political development of Yugoslavia, of the role of the LCY in the system of socialist self-management and of ideopolitical work and education. Stane Dolanc also spoke of the LCY current tasks in the implementation of the economic stabilization policy and of the further socioeconomic development of Yugoslavia as well as of the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress.

Tyazhelnikov spoke of the activity of the CPSU in preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress. During the conversation reference was also made to cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU.

The meeting was attended by Dusan Lazic, a senior official in the international sector of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and Nikolay Rodionov, USSR ambassador to the SFRY.

KURTOVIC COMMENTS ON TALKS WITH GREEK PARTIES

AU241129 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 80 p 7

[L. Carnic report]

[Text] Athens, 11 Dec--Todo Kurtovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, spent the second day of his visit to Greece in intensive talks with his host, Andreas Papandreou, president of the Panhellenic Socialist Union [PASOK]. Today Todo Kurtovic also had talks with Ilias Iliou, president of the United Democratic Left Party. At noon Kurtovic visited the Acropolis, the ancient symbol of Athens.

In a brief conversation with Yugoslav correspondents in Greece, Todo Kurtovic said that the talks were very open and dealt with many questions concerning the two countries as well as with many international problems.

Stressing that PASOK has maintained since long ago a highly developed cooperation with the Socialist Alliance and the LCY, Kurtovic said:

"PASOK is a party of a friendly country and this fact lends a special quality to our cooperation which is intensive. That cooperation is characterized by complete openness and friendship and, I would also say, by a very great similarity of views. This similarity is particularly expressed in our appraisals of the complex international situation."

The president of the SAWPY Federal Conference further stated that it had been agreed during the talks with the PASOK representatives to further continue the intensive and wide exchange of study delegations as well as other types of contacts between the two political organizations.

Regarding the morning meeting with Ilias Iliou, president of the United Democratic Left Party, Todo Kurtovic said that it was cordial and that the talks were very useful.

At the conclusion of his meeting with the Yugoslav journalists, Todo Kurtovic said that the SAWPY delegation has been accorded friendly receptions everywhere.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON MIJATOVIC VISIT TO ITALY

LD200650 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Rome, 19 Dec (TANJUG)--The following joint communique was published in Rome today at the end of the visit by Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency:

Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, paid an official friendly visit to Italy from 17 to 19 December 1980 at the invitation of Sandro Pertino, president of the Italian Republic.

The president of the SFRY Presidency and the president of the Italian Republic carried out a thorough exchange of views on topical questions of the international situation and on the development of relations and cooperation between the two countries.

During the visit, Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, also held talks with Arnaldo Forlani, prime minister of the Italian Government.

Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Emilio Colombo, minister for foreign affairs, held separate talks during which they discussed the development of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy and topical international questions.

From the Yugoslav side, the talks between the president of the SFRY and the president of the Italian Republic were attended by Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Ante Zelic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Marko Kosin, SFRY ambassador to the Italian Republic; Aleksandar Sokorac, chief of cabinet of the president of the SFRY Presidency; and other personalities.

From the Italian side, the talks were attended by Emilio Colombo, minister of foreign affairs of the Italian Republic; Carlo Calenda, ambassador, diplomatic adviser to the presidency of the republic; Pietro Calamia, ambassador of the Italian Republic to the SFRY; Vieri Traksler, minister plenipotentiary, deputy director general for political affairs of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; Giacomo Attolico, minister plenipotentiary deputy director general for economic affairs of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and other personalities.

Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, repeated on this occasion again the expressions of Yugoslavia's deep sympathy and solidarity in connection with the catastrophic earthquake in southern Italy, which dealt a heavy blow to the friendly Italian people.

The two sides expressed anxiety at the exacerbation of the international situation caused by the increasingly frequent use of force in international relations, pressures and interference in internal affairs, failure to resolve the existing hotbeds of crisis and the emergence of new ones, the continuation of the arms race and the absence of progress in settling the key problems in international economic relations. All this is a serious threat to peace and security in the world and especially to the freedom and independence of states and their integrity.

When exchanging views on the existing hotbeds of crisis in various regions of Asia and Africa, the Near East, the Gulf area, the two sides expressed anxiety at the failure to tackle these problems.

The two sides also expressed deep regret and anxiety over the continuation of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, which is causing serious harm to the two countries involved in the conflict and creating a threat to their independence and to peace and security in the region.

Stress was laid on the pressing need for efforts to be made by the entire world community in order to create the conditions which will make it possible to find just, complete and lasting solutions to hotbeds of crisis and international problems by peaceful means, through political talks on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter and the meritorious resolutions passed by the United Nations and with full respect for the peoples' right to freedom, self-determination, independence, security and independent development.

The two sides agreed that it is indispensable to continue the constant and consistent development of relations and strengthening of security in Europe and the Mediterranean on the basis of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki. They voiced their joint conviction that it is necessary to ensure that the Madrid meeting is successful and thus secure the continuity of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in the interest of the further development of cooperation and strengthening of trust and security on the European Continent. In this connection emphasis was placed on the importance of halting the arms race and starting the process of disarmament.

The two sides also pointed out the interdependence between the conditions in Europe and in the Mediterranean. They agreed that security in the Mediterranean is inseparable from security on the European Continent. In this connection they pointed out the need for active efforts to be made by all the coastal countries on the basis of the Helsinki principles with the aim of turning the Mediterranean into an area of peace and friendly cooperation.

Both sides welcomed the resumption of the talks between the two Cypriot communities under the aegis of the UN secretary-general and expressed the hope that these talks will lead to a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of the United Nation's meritorious resolutions. Such a solution should ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity and nonalignement of the Republic of Cyprus.

The two countries expressed themselves in favor of a complete, just and lasting solution to the Near East crisis, which presupposes Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967, the recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights to self-determination and its own state, and respect for the right of all the countries of this area to security and free development.

For this solution it is necessary that all interested parties, which means the Palestinian people and the PLO, participate in the talks on an equal footing.

Proceeding from the fact that the solution of problems of diarmament is of essential importance for a positive development of international relations and security in the world, the two sides strive for the implementation of conclusions of the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament.

The two sides paid special attention to topical questions of international economic relations. They agreed that it is necessary to make general efforts to promote internnational cooperation in solving the most important economic problems of the modern world. In this connection, the importance of solving the problems of development to achieve stability of relations in the world was especially pointed out.

Efforts must be made to eliminate obstacles on the road to a new international economic order. Expressing regret that no agreement has yet been reached on the beginning of global talks, the two sides emphasized the need that all countries approach this question in a constructive manner in order to achieve an agreement on it.

The two sides emphasized also on this occasion the role which in the existing international situation is played by the policy of nonalignment in the efforts of the international community to preserve peace and stability in the world.

The president of the SFRY Presidency and the president of the Italian Republic expressed great satisfaction over the development of good-neighborly relations, which are characterized by a high level of understanding and trust, as well as by a wide cooperation on the bases of equality and full mutual respect. In this context, both sides emphasized the importance of the Osimo agreements, the presently achieved results and the readiness on both sides to continue the consistent implementation of the contents and spirit of Osimo in mutual relations. Thus the two countries in the best possible way contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe in keeping with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

The two sides emphasized the importance of meetings at the state and political level and their contribution ot strengthening mutual trust and understanding, to the development of good neighborliness and friendly cooperation between the two countries. On this occasion, too, deep interest and full readiness were expressed by the two sides to continue the efforts for further development of friendly cooperation in all fields of mutual interest.

Special attention was paid during the talks to improving the position and rights of national minorities. In this connection, the importance of their positive role in strengthening the relations between the two countries was confirmed. The two sides confirmed their firm commitment, in keeping with the Osimo spirit and within the framework of their constitutional order, as well as in cooperation with the representatives of the minorities, to implement the policy of all-round development and to undertake efficacious measures aimed at promoting the rights of the members of the Slovene national minority in Italy and the Italian nationality in Yugoslavia. In this context, the provisions in the paragraph 4 of the preamble and of the Article Eight of the Osimo agreement were pointed out. Mutual conviction was expressed that such development of minorities considerably contributed to mutual cooperation, rapprochement and strengthening of mutual confidence and friendship between the two countries.

It was noted that unexploited possibilities existed for achieving still more important results in the economic cooperation between the two countries. The need to balance the exchange of goods and services was especially emphasized. So was the need for intensifying industrial cooperation, development of cooperation in the field of transport, business-technical, [word indistinct] and investment cooperation, and joint appearance on the third markets. Support was expressed for the development of higher and modern forms of economic cooperation on long-term bases. The importance of further promotion of broader economic cooperation was emphasized. The two sides stressed the importance of cooperation between the population, institutions and organizations in the border areas for the development of good-neighborly relations. They expressed readiness to support and help implementing mutually beneficial initiatives for the sake of strengthening cooperation of these areas in all fields, including the improvement and expansion of agreed instruments which concern individual fields of cooperation in the border regions.

The two sides reiterated common interest in promoting overall economic cooperation in the Adriatic, pointing out considerable possibilities for cooperation in the field of science and technology, maritime research, protection of the sea, use of ports and maritime transport, fishing economy and other fields.

The development of cooperation in the field of science, culture and education was highly assessed. Mutual interest was expressed in intensifying mutual cooperation and direct bearers of activity in order to achieve further successful results in these fields. In this connection, the importance of consistent and comprehensive implementation of the program of cultural-education cooperation was pointed out.

The two sides highly assessed the development of contacts between the two governments at all levels and with the Yugoslav socialist republics and provinces, as well as between important institutions and organizations of the two countries, which contributes to the development of overall Yugoslav-Italian relations and cooperation.

On this occasion, too, the two sides expressed their deep conviction that good-neighborly relations between Yugoslavia and Italy, based on the respect for the principles of independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and noninterference in internal affairs, correspond to the permanent interests of their peoples and represent an important contribution to peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

During the talks, which were held in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and confidence, similarity or identity of stances was expressed on questions under discussion. Mutual conviction was expressed that this visit and talks held on this occasion represented an important contribution to further successful development of good-neighborly cooperation and to peace and security in this part of the world.

Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, invited Sandro Pertini, president of the Italian Republic, to pay an official visit to Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

PRESIDENCY APPROVES HODZA, MIJATOVIC VISITS

LD241900 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)--The SFRY Presidency held a session in Belgrade today. The session was chaired by President Civjetin Mijatovic. The Presidency considered and endorsed reports on the recent official friendly visits paid by Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency, to the People's Democratic Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Ghana and by Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to the Republic of Italy. The Presidency also considered and endorsed a report on talks between President Mijatovic and Pope John Paul II.

The official friendly visits paid by Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency, to the People's Democratic Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Ghana and the extensive talks which he had with his hosts, President Sekou Toure and President Hilla Limann, were assessed at the session as a significant contribution to the further comprehensive development of friendly relations with these nonaligned countries and to the affirmation of the original principles of the policy of nonalignment and its nonbloc character.

It was also judged that the extensive Yugoslav-Italian exchange of views at the summit gave an impetus to the further development of fruitful friendly cooperation between the two friendly countries and to the speedier and satisfactory settling of the remaining unsolved questions. It was stressed with satisfaction that comprehensive good-neighborly cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy, marked by mutual respect, represents an example of consistent implementation of the spirit and letter of the Helsinki documents and is in accord with the two countries' fundamental interests and the strengthening of security, broader cooperation and understanding in Europe and the world.

The visit paid to the Vatican by Cvjetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and his very useful talks with Pope John Paul II confirmed the two sides' desire to continue the successful development of relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See on the basis of the Belgrade protocol of 1966 and of full respect for Yugoslavia's democratic gains and constitutional order.

The sessions also considered questions of national defense and other questions in the Presidency's competence. Highest federal officials also took part in the work of the session.

BAKARIC DISCUSSES DOMESTIC, FOREIGN AFFAIRS

LD252200 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Interview with Dr Vladimir Bakaric, member of the SFRY Presidency and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, conducted by Dusan Mitevic, chief and responsible editor for news programs of Belgrade television, on 25 December carried on the first program of Belgrade television]

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)--[Question] Comrade Bakaric, we are at the end of a year which was very significant for our community, a year in which Comrade Tito's death was the most difficult blow. It can be said even now that all our nations and nationalities have remained and will remain on Tito's course.

You were Comrade Tito's close associate for many years and I would therefore like to ask you to say something at the very beginning of the transmission about the present time, about the time after Comrade Tito.

[Answer] I must say something first. You know, in addition to Comrade Tito's death, I was affected by yet another misfortune. I have been ill for nearly a year and I have therefore not taken part in the life and in the practical life of this country. Of course, I have been informed of the main trends but not, however, on all details. And so, in my replies it should be taken into account that I have to be somewhat cautious because I am not certain of those props [oslonac] on which an assessment of the present situation should be made. This has been a year in which the party and all social organizations have adapted to the new situation, to a situation without Comrade Tito but in line with the tendency to continue his work approximately in the way in which he conceived it and in which we can understand that he conceived the future path.

In my assessment we have achieved results here though I would say that they are a bit better than we had hoped for, not only I, but also many others, for the cohesive force which Tito left was even greater than we could have expected, though we had, it goes without saying, expected it. I think that this year has passed successfully, politically entirely well, naturally with some weaknesses which are in this respect normal weaknesses and which are caused to some extent by this absence of Comrade Tito and where, naturally, all organs which inherit his functions have not had the kind of prestige he had. However, it has been understood everywhere in the world that this is a continuation of Tito's policy with those forces which we have at our disposal. All these forces are not really small ones.

[Question] In your first interview after your illness you told my colleague Vujovic from BORBA that "our working class is like steel." I would like to ask you to comment on this.

[Answer] Yes. I said that this had been said on the basis of, in the first place, my conversation with Vujovic and with some other people. For we have experienced in this respect very grave perturbations which are connected with stabilization and with the further continuation of self-management, in which respect the great burden has fallen on the worker, on the working class. In analyzing this we have all of us seen that, as regards problems concerning these burdens in the direction of the further development of self-managing society, they have not caused us any problems among workers and that the workers have accepted this with great understanding and great sacrifices. Let me quote only one example: In the stabilization process many have been left without reproduction material. However, as regards reproduction material we have had not a single strike. We have had strikes, but they have been mainly among relations in the distribution. Furthermore, in reorientation, you know, here the problems are considerable because this reorientation has demanded and is demanding greater labor productivity; it demands inside the country a break with the policy of autarky.

This policy of autarky has made it possible for us to spend those foreign credits a little more than we have been using them to strengthen our economy, etc. And all this together has demanded a certain--I don't want to say tightening of the belt because there are here prospects nevertheless--but temporary difficulties have been very great. [sentence as received] Here, too, we have had no problems whatsoever.

This is what I wanted to say at the time. I had to say this because at the time when I talked to Comrade Vujovic elements of fear had been present about what would happen next. Would we have greater social troubles in implementing stabilization and in implementing some very severe measures which were needed at that time?

[Question] One of the basic things for us is to further develop socialist democracy, that is, self-management. For 4 years already we have been implementing the Law on Associated Labor. There are views, Comrade Bakaric, that progress in this respect could be quicker!

[Answer] You know, I often hear this question. It is the third or fourth time that I have heard this question put so publicly.

I would divide the views about our going forward more speedily in two parts: first, those who don't understand what is going on and would therefore think that we could in this respect implement very quickly that which is laid down in the Law on Associated Labor. And the second, those who are dissatisfied with individual measures and are therefore proposing some others which could, in their view, speed up this process of transition.

If I deal with those who do not understand, then I would say they think that once we have adopted the law the only thing needed is to adhere to it. They do not see the mind of social processes involved in this question and what is going on. We do not only have a mortgage from the past which is manifested, for instance, in large indebtedness by economic organizations toward banks and toward other things. There is the fact that progress had been in the hands of social factors which (?are not direct producers), that is banks, and furthermore sociopolitical organizations, and all of them together left a heritage of obligations which are not easy to overcome.

Now, therefore, the process of transformation is a very long one, and not only a long one but also a very difficult one. Were we to say now--come on, let us overnight break off and let basic organizations of associated labor manage all this, we would create chaos from which we could never again extricate ourselves. Therefore, a gradual way has to be found, a gradual way of implementing, a gradual way of making it possible for these organizations to adopt their own programs, to aim at the further development of the country, etc.

However, perhaps the most important thing in this respect was that it still implied a number of difficult moves. One of these moves was stabilization. Without stabilization there is no possibility [words indistinct]. Stabilization means, first and foremost, a break with autarky in our economy. Why a break with autarky? Because autarky has been allowing us--a little while ago I mentioned that we were living a little bit at somebody else's expense--to behave fairly freely (?inside our system). And furthermore because we have lived in such a way we had to intervene from time to time and thus old forces have often been strengthened. If you look at the statistics, you will see that there was a time when we had more administrative decisions in our economy than in the earlier period, that we had a more administrative system than (?before). This was a necessary correlation of such a development. And as we are abandoning it so we must ensure autochthonous moments for the development of self-management and possibilities for direct producers and of those aspects needed by the producers and hence, of associated labor, in the broader sense of the world, to train the direct producer to take all these things into his own hands in the exchange of labor.

I think that in this respect we have advanced quite a bit and that we have become trained for these matters. I once gave Comrade Vujovic a statement, which I see that a Zagreb newspaper has interpreted as my having said--and they quoted me literally--about how the Executive Council is incapable, how the assembly is incapable, how all are incapable. Of course, they quoted me out of context. I said that institutionally they are inadequate forums for that which has to be done. However, I also added that there was no other possibility, because, for instance, this cannot be interpreted as a reproach to people--the people who hold these functions, hold these functions very well, taken as a whole. All right, some hold it better, some less so, but they do hold them well. However, these social ties are not of the kind envisaged by the Law on Associated Labor, by the Constitution, but are still a vestige of an older system, particularly in practice.

Thus, if you take, let us say, the assembly and the delegates, they make exceptional efforts and are very constructive. They have never been as constructive as now, but they are [words indistinct] associated labor in the full sense of the word because they have direct links with the social grassroots. Thus, their conclusions, their aspirations are a combination of the old and the new which is sometimes successful and sometimes not. In this respect we are often reproached for not being able to agree. You yourself said a moment ago how difficult it was to reach some agreements. You know, before [words indistinct] but the problem remained. And now you have a clearly laid down problem, and even when a problem is clearly laid down it is still not easy to solve. [Words indistinct] someone should, as the Dalmatians say, "get burned a little". That is, to sacrifice themselves a little bit, to be patient, etc. [words indistinct] And the second group, that is a different problem. We could say that here and there we have not hit on the right thing and thus someone had a better proposal in this respect, and a proposal has not been accepted and he is now mad at those who prevented it. On the other hand, sometimes somebody thinks that one can go forward more quickly when he can't--and so he runs aground. This is the way in which this matter must be assessed.

You know, I believe that these reproaches about it being possible to go ahead more quickly, in the latter case when people understand what it is all about and then start to quarrel, whether one can go forward more quickly--I think that this is a good and useful thing and that no great problems should be created in this respect. [sentence as received] But when people do not understand, then we must take more trouble to explain.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, one of the guarantees of our future is the unity of the entire Yugoslav (?community). I would like to ask you--a little while ago you mentioned a tendency of [words indistinct] of autarky--to say something about this. How should we overcome certain tendencies of isolationism by republics, provinces and even by regions?

[Answer] I said before about autarky in the Yugoslav sense, that is, all Yugoslavia has had the tendency, and still has it, to be autarkic and severe steps have been taken--the first one, precisely this year--in order to begin to liquidate this in some way. And this to liquidate first of all the negative consequences, and then to investigate also the other causes of the very tendencies of autarky and to eliminate them. Statistics have also shown that trade between the republics is falling a little. Therefore, in this respect there is first of all a question of principle. Should we have a national or republican economy? As you know we have a Yugoslav economy which has a unified planning, a unified market in which the needs or the division of labor among republics have been resolved somehow in the federation, and this means with the consent of the republics. However, in this process one proceeded from above downwards. Then we had a tendency of decentralization, and so the question arose as to what decentralization means. In this respect there were some who were saying: "Give rights to work collectives and work organizations," while the republic should a little bit [words indistinct]. However, this is not realistic. This would mean, nevertheless, a centralism of the old Yugoslav type. Thus the setting up of a national economy was necessary. And we began to implement it fairly consistently. However, whether we have in the Constitution elements of integration of these national economies which can be implemented and which are implemented but not precisely in the way in which all of us imagine it, [sentence as received] What should be said here first of all--what could be said about integration.

In the world in general the process of integration is very lively. You see, in Western Europe that integration is carried out in a way in which economies are independent, and they resolve issues more or less by consensus on the basis of interests. In Eastern Europe, the integration which began in a way similar to ours, began, so to speak [word indistinct] began by first having the goals established at a meeting and this was followed by the division of labor, and not from "bottom upwards."

In the debate about this we said that we should give greater possibilities to form a national economy but that it should have elements of integration, that is, we should try for integration. Now, why is this process of disintegration taking place, speaking conditionally, the closing down of the process of integration. In the first place the consumption power of society is enormous, that is, the amount of money in the hands of the consumers has increased everywhere. Therefore, the demands on the market have become greater. Production capacities have not kept up with that pace. Thus, not all the needs of the market have been satisfied and it is logical that in such a case first the nearer markets and then the markets which are further away produce [sentence as received]. This great demand has made it possible for them to live quite well from this. The problem of increasing capacities need not be raised now because they can realize their income by increasing prices and by another similar way. Thus, what we lack here is a straightforward tendency of isolating large production capacities which would cater to a large new market. And now you will also hear that old saying about monetary expressions and production not tallying. This is approximately what I have said. Now in this respect an effort has also been made recently. What makes this isolationism possible? The creation of monopolies or lack of development of production forces or at least insufficient development. And then we have to say here what the cause of it is. This is also the isolationism of the Yugoslav market--that is, it is not criticized by large production forces which are outside it and which the world provides, but it is this entire system of protectionist measures. These are not merely formal customs measures but the mass of permissions, a mass which the economy (?supports) because it is useful to it while in fact it isolates the market and does not push toward greater productivity and greater production.

[Question] I would like to ask you for an explanation of why the foreign currency system is blamed for tendencies towards isolationism, as well as the fact that foreign currency (?resources are balanced within the context of republics).

[Answer] The foreign currency system had its own development which began with a united system, as you know, which was centralized, and then foreign currency was issued according to need, and sometimes to "grandmothers and uncles." This went on for long enough. Then we got the idea of (?creating) [words indistinct] out of the national economies in this joint "melting pot" with more foreign currency, while giving less. And we also had the tendency to make the economies think more about getting foreign currency and about linking with that market. Then the decision was taken to decentralize foreign currency and a law was (?passed), the details of which I do not know, but this then created (?the problem) that there is no unified market. There are [words indistinct] many small markets, that is, (?they trade) mutually with foreign currency, both those who have it and those who do not. And this is in vain, if, say, we have a law and then someone has foreign currency which is [words indistinct] in short supply and someone else who supplies him with reproduction material demands to be paid in foreign currency. We overcame this a long time ago. So here you have the beginning of a double currency, so to speak, the currency of the dinar and of the dollar, which in practice--naturally, since the dollar is here more stable than the dinar--has recently favored the dollar so that this damages our economy and increases its foreign dependence. And so the further development of our foreign currency system in general [words indistinct] is one of the essential needs of the stabilization of the dinar. [words indistinct]

The dollar-dinar relationship is not primarily a question of currency systems but of the whole system. [words indistinct] So, you asked whether we need to change this system, well, we need to develop it, but as to whether to change it, I am sorry, but I do not know, and I find that great discussions are taking place on how to develop this thing further and that those taking part in the discussions are not in agreement, although they have already established, in my view, a whole series of points which need to be taken into account. How should we go on? For the moment, I am not able to say.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, we are already discussing economic questions and development. In your interview with BORBA you said something about the relationship between the developed and underdeveloped and about the problem which really exists in our community, that the underdeveloped areas need to develop more rapidly, in particular the Province of Kosovo. Would you like to add anything new to this?

[Answer] I have nothing new to add, for this, as you know, is one of the basic problems, again of integration, which on old bases is difficult to maintain and in which we need to preserve, so to speak, the independence of every individual unit and create a system of cooperation. This is a problem which is on the agenda and which is currently at the approximate level at which we were at the United Nations. You know that there was an agreement that a certain proportion of the national income should be given to the developing countries. Well, they held to it and they didn't. The exponent of this in his time was most frequently Olof Palme. Apart from this, the tendency here was for those who were underdeveloped to remain so and to be hangers-on of the developed and not for them to be equipped to be autonomous units. Some of this, not quite all, also exists here in our country. Naturally, here we were more consistent than the UN system, and we have continued to give a part of the national income to underdeveloped regions so that they have been able to develop much more than would have been the case with the UN system. However, the process of integration demands some new solutions, but I am not able to say any more about that.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, in practice the 11th LCY Congress is called the congress of the political system, for at it were adopted Comrade Kardelj's theses and after it this system developed more resolutely. A little while ago you were talking about both the position of the delegates and the situation in relation to agreement-seeking, and so I would not like to ask you about that in particular, but I should like to turn your attention to the role of the League of Communists. At the Bled consultative meeting you presented a thesis which said, at least as I understood it, that communists have greater responsibility for the policy which is adopted and carried out.

[Answer] Yes, this is one essential difference from the previous practice, for in the League of Communists we inherited a system which was an old system of linking organizations with social factors, economic and sociopolitical factors, so that one committee decided something and another committee carried it out.

Now we have arrived at the stage when we need to reorient ourselves and communists must be more active in all these forums and fight the battle for what needs to be done. So, for example, we now have a situation in which, say, associated labor is linking up in some way, although there is great criticism in the economic branches at the creation of united entities which are hardly ever based on where people live, the commune or on the employment of new people who have the right to work with social resources as do all others. Therefore, the communes do not always function as they should but function rather with one program given by either the party or expert cadres within these organs, which is then corrected but still put forward. If we were to discuss these things really openly, let us say in a commune so that the citizens in that commune's expanded reproduction might take part, then this means a great responsibility for the factory, the working people, schools and a discussion on a much wider basis than up to now, and then communists who now sit in committees would have to get involved instead of sitting and discussing the same problem, without support or without working out that support at the grassroots, only seeking support when they have decided something.

However, here there are not enough elements and not enough involvement by all those taking part in this type of work. We have already started to do this. Perhaps you remember the decision to liquidate organizational structures according to working structures so that each basic organization is linked to the municipal committee. This means precisely that it does not follow the organization, say, of the composite organizations of associated labor, but follows the organization politically both according to place and according to the composite organization of associated labor, and encompasses the whole series of problems which arise at the grassroots and not only there, but in Yugoslavia as a whole.

This processes has started and is not easy. We have noticed that some people who have responsible positions in some assembly organs do not know what it is about. They receive material as do all the others. They either read it or don't read it, and then vote or give their view completely haphazardly. So we need to prepare party cadres to take part creatively in those environments and we need to take them on to further work. Without this we cannot realize the system in a delegate manner for what kind of a delegate is one who is chosen in this way according to his political past, and is very constructive, yet does not have--I will not say support, for this is a weak word in this context--what the English call "momentum", such strength of development, this force which is represented by a mass of people at work.

[Question] If I understand correctly, you have advocated and continue to advocate considerably greater activity by communists at the grassroots and in the processes of self-management.

[Answer] Yes, but from the grassroots upward.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, at the moment there is public discussion on amendments to change the Constitution so as to implement in practice Comrade Tito's initiatives. I could say that this process is going on, but also that there is resistance, and so I should like you to say something about the nature of this resistance and how to overcome it.

[Answer] Well, I should say that I do not have anything new to add to what I have already said about the discussion on the amendments.

If you are talking about resistance, then I would say that there are two types of resistance. One arises from lack of understanding of what Tito said. This resistance is within us and arises from the old concept of party leadership of social life so that all forums are standardized at the moment, although they are not all equal. Nor are they equal according to the Constitution. Thus, say, for example, the League of Communists Presidium has the right to make decisions between committee meetings, so to speak, about everything. But others do not have that right. For, say, the Federal Executive Council does not have that right as the Assembly is in constant session. Or, similarly, the Central Committee has autonomous rights before the congress and so forth. They have not understood this and have wanted all to be equal. And what then are the consequences of everything being equal: You are taking one such forum out of the context in which it lives, and are dragging it back.

There have been other types of resistance, and there still are. They are alive in those old concepts of democracy which in fact give the bureaucracy power and the people only have the right to vote for those who are able to be candidates.

These types of resistance thus demonstrate that this system is impossible, and that the old system should be turned to. However, this is a much smaller problem than this other one and I think that that this discussion will proceed quite well and produce positive results.

[Question] We have noted in the proposed amendments that there are different solutions in individual republics and provinces. Whay do you think about that? Will sometime later a discussion show that these solutions should be standardized or will it remain like this?

[Answer] Well, I am not in the know about the extent of these differences.

[Question] What I have in mind is the length of the mandate which has not been proposed everywhere of the same length....

[Answer] Well, you know the length of the mandate is dependent to some extent on practical matters. For instance, in federal bodies you have two durations of mandates. You have a 4-year assembly and 5-year presidiums and this precisely on account of continuity and on account of maintaining a certain basic line. In the republics or municipalities this is considerably different. There, some of these mandates can be shortened and in some bodies not. I think that practice will show this. In this respect I do not have enough insight on these matters. But this same principle, the mandate of an assembly, need not mean the same mandates for all others. For instance, I am in favor of the same mandate for the Federal Assembly and the Executive Council, but this is a question which is now under discussion.

[Question] I think it was also Comrade Tito's basic idea--when he proposed the initiative on collective leadership--to have a method of collective work inaugurated and developed even more.

[Answer] Yes, and not only that. There is yet another element. What he visualized was a picture of the federation, you know, where such immobility or the second mandate provides the possibility to impose somebody's right on one republic or the other. Therefore, he insisted on this--and, do you know, even before his statement at the trade union congress on the rotation inside the Presidency. Furthermore, it was totally senseless that such an organization as the Confederation of Trade Unions has a permanent president or leader. You know, there can be a leader but he need not be a president. Thus, he also took this into consideration and so his idea affected precisely these factors of sociopolitical organization which rely directly on the masses and which could abuse their position.

[Question] Which in fact leads to a greater exchange of cadres.

[Answer] It leads to greater exchange, yet, but this is not the basic aspect. What is basic is that people must be elected who can be rotated. This means that not a single person should bear the full responsibility. For instance, Tito often felt the great burden of bearing responsibility, and he did a lot to consult and to transfer the responsibility to the Central Committee or the Presidium, because this was a great burden. Some people do not think that this is a great burden; they only see it as an honor.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, our public knows that apart from this internal political scene you have for years also followed foreign political trends. There are many questions which now interest our citizens. The tendency in Western Europe, manifested above all by social democrats at their latest congress, of being increasingly interested in policy towards non-European countries, in Africa, Asia, etc. is interesting. How would you interpret these their intentions?

[Answer] You know, first of all we would have in some way to make an assessment of what social democracy is. Here I could present only my personal view because we have not discussed this matter in detail. We have discussed only concrete decisions. We cooperate with social democrats. This is relatively good. There are questions which refer chiefly to Europe--about greater independence of Europe in relation to America, about relative independence in formulating policy. In this the German Social Democratic Party with its tendencies, with its "Ostpolitik," with its policy towards Eastern Europe where, nevertheless, [words indistinct] exacerbation rather than seeking certain ties has played a special role. Furthermore, in some elements there is a certain push towards independence from America, precisely in order to make detente in Europe easier. In this, to some extent, we have been able to meet. And there is then the tendency against bloc division, then the tendency toward maintaining peace and the first raising of the issue of the relations between the developed and underdeveloped. Then there is the Brandt Commission which does not really satisfy what we want it to--that is, there are not enough elements in it to make other economies independent, but its trend is in that direction.

The second tendency [words indistinct] emerges in Africa and Latin America. I would say that I would prefer to see it in Europe than in those places. However, in the assessment of the social democracy, I think that it is looking for ways to implement a modern capitalism. These are reforms inside the capitalist system, but more modern--that is, the concept that what the world needs is peace and everything I have enumerated earlier. And this modern capitalism also seeks new relations with the countries of Asia, Africa, etc. However, they are looking for ways, and somebody somewhere observed that these countries exert greater influence on social democracy than social democracy on them, because social democracy looks for ways of how to [word indistinct] here. In this respect you will observe that they have experienced negative replies in some countries which have found their own path of democratization, and that the type they had proposed--that is, the West European parliamentary system--was unacceptable to these countries and that they therefore corrected their policy and did not aim at imposing this on others. And in those countries where the path of democratization has not been found they also had no success because the factors in power in those countries have not accepted it; they have preferred to rely on those elements in the West which support such a nonpeople's power. So, you see, we have a broad field of cooperation. However, I say I would prefer them to be more active in Europe because they would do much more there than in the countries which, if they have not found their way, are finding it.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, we are dealing with Europe; there is great interest in what is going on in Poland. Certainly, many lessons can be learned from the Polish situation, but I would like to ask you to say something of the way you see this entire Polish situation and everything that is going on in Poland from the point of view of the development of socialism today.

[Answer] Well you see I have to again limit myself a bit because I know the basic lines of development. I would say that there are two elements in Poland. One element is the relations between socialist countries. All countries in the world wish to achieve a certain, so to say, independence. When I was in Poland--I don't know how many years ago--one of the comrades there told me: It is better to have a friend than a brother. One chooses one's friend but one has no choice in having a brother. And relations inside this Eastern bloc, too, have been changing since Stalinism. They are going along a different path--in a direction, if we look on their positive side, of making friends. And I would say this as follows: I like to be a friend of the Soviet Union because I like it that way and not because, let's say, it is imposed on me. During Stalinism this was imposed. And now this process is proceeding honestly and slowly, with convulsions and without convulsions and with the setting up of mutual ties of trust and no trust.

One element of these events in Poland is the question of whether this process is flowing sufficiently quickly or not. Of course, a mass of nonsocialist elements, too, could latch onto it and this is taking place in practice. However, this process is not taking place only in East Europe but also in West Europe, perhaps in different forms. Nevertheless, there has been, for instance, this breaking away first by France and then by Germany from the strong rightwing policy, the policy of the United States.

[Question] France has formally left NATO?

[Answer] Yes, but that dependence is still present. Imagine: Can the French Communist Party come into power? It cannot. It would represent an intervention because we are not usually conscious of this; if you look at life in practice you would see that this is so. So you see that now, too, the "Eurocommunists" must wage a different policy because they know that they cannot come to a kind of power which means a revolution. Thus, they are waging a struggle just like those who are struggling for greater independence, for the elimination of possibilities of intervention as well as all others. This is one element.

The second element is the internal one. Great mistrust toward the party system in power has been created. It can be a lesson for us as well as for others; I am still speaking in abstract terms because I don't want to interfere in Polish affairs. I refer to what Marx said in his "Communist Manifesto": The communist party has no special goals; its goals are the same as those of the working class.

What is at stake is that the party can be the leader of the class only if it understands that class and if it leads forward toward its historic and other goals. However, an abyss has been created here and this abyss has continued in this way in a long process. I could mention here events before the present Polish events. This abyss is a deep one and it is not easy to overcome it. What is important is that the socialist tendency in this, along with democratization and along with all other things, should be ensured because the threat from the nonsocialist tendency in this movement is very dangerous both for world peace and for everybody else. In this respect all Poles are today very sensible.

You see that the unreality about making some changes of a nonsocialist character do not exist today--there is no such reality. However, the fact that there is no such reality would not be sufficient argument for developing socialist relations in Poland and I think that the Poles have before them a great task of continuing this socialism of the working class and putting it on sound foundations. Of course, a turning back would mean a return of the old system; a return of the old system would mean that this process has no prospects of being completed but would mean major troubles of world dimensions.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, when we speak of that growing realism in Poland, the impression is that the Catholic clergy is also trying considerably to behave realistically.

[Answer] The Catholic clergy, the high Catholic clergy, is behaving very realistically now. I think that this tendency would be good to preserve--to preserve on both sides. This means creating, so to say, some programs on the socialist basis which would retain socialism and possibly isolate nonsocialist tendencies by obtaining the support of the working class and the working people. The Italian party, for instance, is continually trying this. It proposes--and before the war, France also tried this--extending a hand to Catholics, what the French call the outstretched hand on the joint program of the working class. This means that it is not religion which is the reason for differences but the question of whether you are on the class line or not.

[Question] Our people are fairly confused by this in view of the fact that they compare our situation with Catholicism being strong in Poland and that it is a powerful political factor there.

[Answer] The difference between the Catholic Church, the top of the Catholic Church, in Poland and in our country is a great one; it is 180 degrees. The Catholic Church in Poland waged the war, if one can put it this way, against the occupation during World War II, while our church, that is, its top leadership and most of its parts, were on the other side. And so with that top leadership we had a political dispute going. As far back as the war and in this connection the mistrust was different; we succeeded in winning over along the line of socialism the Catholic believers but, that is, in the struggle with the political tendencies of certain top clergy. With the Poles the situation has been different. They had a clash with Cardinal Wyszynski after the war. However, as regards the question of Polish patriotism, on this they had no conflict.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, a tension, and to some extent an artificial tension, has been created concerning Poland both in the East and in the West. Are you afraid of the possibility of foreign intervention in Poland?

[Answer] Well, Yugoslavia's attitude is known. We are against intervention, but we are also in favor of full support for the development of socialist relations in Poland, of course without interference in internal affairs, without teaching a lesson and without any other kind of intervention. I only think that socialist tendencies in Poland must be supported.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, as you said at the very beginning of the interview, we are at the end of a very significant year, but also at the beginning of a significant one and probably also a fairly difficult year, 1981--the first year of our medium-term plan.

I would like to ask you to say briefly at the end of our conversation what, in your view, is the most important thing for our community?

[Answer] Well, the most important thing is to continue the stabilization policy. This is one of the tasks which is crucial for whether we shall be able to go further or, as you would say, more quickly or more slowly. In the way in which we shall succeed in this will also reside whether progress will be easier or more difficult. It is difficult to say how much we shall be committed, and this is particularly difficult for me because my ability to work is not great.

[Question] If I can comment--this conversation shows that your ability to work is quite good.

[Answer] No, I don't agree. You know, during my illness, which was a very severe one, many people, many of my friends and many people whom I don't know supported me; I received good wishes from thousands of people of whom I had never heard. They offered me their prescriptions; they even sent me some aids. And, you see, to some of those who came forward prominently I have not gone round yet to thank.

[Question] Well, you can do so here in this transmission.

[Answer] In this transmission I would say that I express my truly cordial thanks for the support which was exceptionally great and exceptionally well-intentioned.

[Question] Comrade Bakaric, we too thank you very much for having received us and for having replied, despite being busy, to a large number of questions.

ASSEMBLY MEETS; BUDGET, OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED

Finance Committee Debates Budget

LD232354 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)--In the Yugoslav Assembly today at the session of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces there began the usual delegate discussion on the federal budget for 1981. The Federal Executive Council has submitted the draft budget amounting to 169 billion dinars, that is 31.8 percent more than the planned budget for 1980. Judging by the first day of the discussion the budget will not pass "smoothly" in the republican and provincial coordination process. This is understandable for the very reason that the planned growth is higher than the growth of the social product (23.6 percent). This, it seems, will be the main bone of contention within the complex business of adopting the budget for next year.

On behalf of the Federal Executive Council, the budget was "defended" by Federal Secretary of Finance Petar Kostic.

The arguments he put forward, without doubt, were very convincing. The following is essential in the make-up of the expenditure side of the federal budget: As much as 88 percent of the total expenditure is predetermined by some agreed figures such as 5.80 percent of the national income for the Yugoslav Army, 0.85 percent for the nondeveloped areas (supplementary funds), the sum for war veteran and invalids welfare agreed in advance, etc. This means room to maneuver for a possible reduction of budgetary expenditure boils down to a mere 12 percent. In this percentage, amounting to about 20 billion dinars, it is difficult to find scope for bigger savings, especially since in planning expenditure for the workd of federal organizations and organs, including the SFRY Presidency and the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council was exceptionally rigorous.

The share of the federal administration in the federal budget expenditure next year is 6.6 percent. In 1980 this percentage was 7.2 percent. The possibility that the delegates will find possible economies cannot be ruled out although noneconomic investments have been "whittled" down to a mere 1.1 percent of the budget. The increase in relations to this year's federal budget amounts to only 12.6 percent. This is considerably lower than the anticipated growth of the social product.

The coordination [of the budget] has only begun, but both chambers--the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces--are meeting as early as 25 and 26 December to adopt the federal budget for 1981. It is difficult to envisage what the epilogue will be, but then there are difficulties every year but solutions are always found.

Dissension on Budget

LD240044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Summary] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)--The federal budget in 1981 should not be increased faster than the growth of the social product. This, in short, is the unanimous demand of all the republican and provincial delegations in the Finance Committee of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces who are coordinating the federal budget for 1981.

The Serbian delegation believes the planned budget increase of about 31 percent goes beyond the possible growth of the social product next year. Serbia advocates the idea that all budget positions be reexamined and insists that the growth of budget expenditure and of the social product should be absolutely equal.

The Vojvodina delegation, too, believes the growth of the federal budget should be the same as the growth of the social product. In the view of this delegation the proposed volume of the budget cannot be deemed to fit into the stabilization policy. The important thing for the Vojvodina delegation is to what extent the proposed budget will influence the growth of inflation.

The Macedonian delegation, too, believes the federal budget could be on a reduced scale, but following the explanations given by the Federal Executive Council it became clear that there is not much chance of that happening. "Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosovo have raised the question of meeting budget commitments toward the nondeveloped republics and Kosovo from previous years. In this context, Montenegro proposed some changes in the law which would make it possible for the commitments to the underdeveloped areas to be met during a period ending in 1985. The sum involved is 6.38 billion dinars, which is the sum 'owed' by the federal budget to the nondeveloped republics and to Kosovo.

"In this sum the share of Bosnia-Hercegovina is 2.28 billion dinars, the share of Montenegro 792 million dinars, that of Macedonia just over 1 billion dinars and Kosovo 2.26 billion dinars."

The proposed federal budget expenditure for 1981 is not acceptable to the Croatian delegation either. Croatia advocates that both the revenue and the expenditure should be reviewed, particularly the revenue from custom duties, because it is believed not to have been assessed realistically.

The Slovenian delegate asked what the significance of the proposed budget for the implementation of the stabilization policy is. In the opinion of this delegation the budget is a spur to inflation. Expenditure at the federal level should be at the level of general and joint expenditure which applies to our society as a whole.

Changes in Army Financing

LD252000 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)--The delegates of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber Committee for National Defense today endorsed the proposed changes in the law on resources and financing of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA).

As was said today, the proposals to change and supplement this law are a result of the need for work in the YPA to be brought into line with social trends and the established way of using social resources and also so as to ensure the most complete protection possible and even more rational use of the resources of the YPA. Particularly significant among the proposals are those which relate to pooling the YPA's resources with the resources of sociopolitical communities, basic organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations. In this connection the possibility that military units and institutions might be signatories of self-management agreements is proposed. This document also provides for the possibility of pooling certain resources of the YPA with individual producers. This proposal is motivated by the fact that organizations of associated labor in some cases have no economic interest in becoming involved in individual types of production.

The proposed amendments and supplements set out more completely and precisely what the YPA housing fund stands for as well as the conditions under which an apartment is provided from the YPA's housing fund for persons whose military service has ended.

Accords on Plan Confirmed

LD260430 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)--At its session today, the next to the last one to be held this year, the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly confirmed five accords on the foundations of Yugoslavia's social plan for 1981-1985. This secures all the conditions needed for the adoption of the 5-year plan for the development of Yugoslavia in the second half of February 1981.

Today the chamber, chaired by Zoran Polic, confirmed the accord on the development of the Yugoslav People's Army and the determining of other common interests and goals in the field of national defense and the country's security. [Words indistinct] percent of the country's national income will be set aside every year for the development and [words indistinct] of the Yugoslav People's Army and the greatest possible attention will be devoted to the modernization of [words indistinct] and equipment of the Yugoslav People's Army. The second of the accords confirmed today, concerning the production of arms and military equipment, is directly linked with the accord on the development of the Yugoslav People's Army. The three remaining accords regulate the harmonization and management of the processes of social reproduction, the policy of development of economic relations with foreign countries and the policy of more rapid development of economically insufficiently developed republics and the Province of Kosovo in the next 5 years.

The introductory report on the occasion of the confirmation of the accords on the foundations of the plan for Yugoslavia's development over the next 5 years was submitted by Sukrija Uzunovic, member of the Federal Executive Council.

After the report submitted by Sukrija Uzunovic, Ljubo Babic, delegate from Bosnia-Hercegovina, took the floor. The basic conclusion one can draw after the confirmation of these accords, Babic believes, is that the vitality and strength of our self-managing system and, above all, the high degree of awareness of our unity manifested themselves on this occasion once again. Accord-seeking again proved itself as the only alternative in our society, in our multinational community. The hopes felt by rare individuals that accord would not be reached on these vital questions on our development were denied. The difference which existed, those which still exist and those which will continue to exist are a reflection of objective conditions, of historical development and the conditions in which our republics and provinces are developing, but they should not hinder us when we are discussing the fundamental questions of development.

Uzunovic on Plan

LD251848 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)--Recalling that the process of reaching accord in the interrepublican committee for the plan had lasted from 26 May to 8 December, Sukrija Uzunovic, speaking for the Federal Executive Council [at the session today of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly] stressed in his report that this long period of work had been caused by the very complex and contradictory situation at home and abroad. In this connection he referred to the instability of total reproduction, which had manifested itself in the form of inflation, reduced reproductive capacity of the economy, rising deficits in the balance of payments and a high degree of the country's indebtedness, as well as to the deterioration in the economic and political situation in the world and to the shortcomings which have manifested themselves in the functioning of the system of self-managing planning.

Uzunovic said it was important to find optimum solutions for the development of the production forces in the conditions created by the policy of stabilization and to establish distribution and consumption limits while bearing in mind the need to maintain the already achieved standard of living of the working people, its further growth and the strengthening of the material position of associated labor.

After noting that the adoption and confirmation of all five accords on the foundations of the social plan for the period from 1981 to 1985 had created the conditions needed for immediately concluding the draft of the plan, Uzunovic considered it necessary to point out a number of solutions and elements in the accords which had not been given a fully finished or complete form.

"Many of these questions," he said, "have been incorporated as tasks and obligations into the 1981 resolution. The problems, shortcomings and weaknesses which manifested themselves and were in evidence during the realization of the system of planning, especially in self-managing organizations and communities, also influence the quality of the accords on the foundations of the plans. This includes the plans of all the sociopolitical communities, also meaning the quality of the accords on the foundations of Yugoslavia's social plan, which in the past few days has been endorsed by the assemblies of all the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and which will today be confirmed by this chamber of the SFRY Assembly."

"Bearing all this in mind, the Federal Executive Council considers that:

"First, in the course of carrying out Yugoslavia's social plan, it will be necessary--by using the system of continuing planning--to make the appropriate changes, additions or corrections in individual parts of elements of the plan whenever associated labor becomes aware of the need for such changes.

"This is also necessary in order to ensure that the aims and interests of associated labor are as adequately as possible reflected in Yugoslavia's social plan and thus secure its more consistent self-managing basis. In the view of the Federal Executive Council, the same practice should be followed by the republics, provinces and municipalities.

"Second, at all levels one should analyse in detail the implementation of the system of social planning by all the exponents of planning in Yugoslavia so as to be able to ascertain as accurately as possible what problems, weaknesses and shortcomings have manifested themselves and made themselves felt and what their origin was.

"[Words indistinct] proceeding from this the Federal Executive Council has taken the initiative on amendments or addenda to the law on the foundations of the system of social planning and the social plan for Yugoslavia and, if necessary, amendments and addenda to some other laws and regulations," Sukrija Uzunovic said.

Kostic on Foreign Currency

LD251902 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)--Possibilities are currently being examined to stimulate the work of Yugoslavia's inter-bank foreign currency market which has been in existence for several years now. Replying to a question posed by a delegate at the Assembly of Yugoslavia today, Federal Secretary for Finance Petar Kostic said he was confident that these measures would contribute to curbing some manifestations, noticed lately, of enterprises selling and buying foreign currency among themselves, in contravention of the foreign currency regulations.

Kostic confirmed a report by the Federal Secretariat for Finance and the Federal Foreign Currency Inspectorate which says that foreign currency payments have been introduced in the country for certain commodities which are in short supply.

Kostic explained that some enterprises lacking foreign currency were signing self-management compacts on the pooling of foreign currency which then served as a cover for their foreign currency transactions. He noted that such re-selling of foreign currency had a negative effect on the country's export activities and undermined the policy of the real rate of the national currency.

Budget 'Not Coordinated'

LD251902 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 80

[Text] Here is a report from the Yugoslav Assembly where this evening the budget of the federation and the resolution for next year was not adopted. Here is a telephone dispatch by Dusko Mandic:

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, which broke off its session this morning with the intention of continuing this evening, did not in fact continue.

The reason lies in the fact that the committees have not completely coordinated the federal budget.

Let us recall that this afternoon it should have been put on the agenda, as well as the resolution. Since the resolution has been coordinated, a normal alternative resulted, that is, to put on the agenda only the resolution and this would mean that it would be adopted. In order to completely clarify positions and to possibly adopt a variant, the chairmen of the delegation and the chairmen of the committees of this chamber met this evening with the president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, Zoran Polic. It was decided that with the budget not having been adopted, one point of the resolution also automatically falls. This refers to point 18 which regulates federal budget expenditure. Attempts to find a formulation, so that the percentage under dispute could be later incorporated in the accepted resolution, failed because what is at stake is, according to the chairmen of committees, a figure which cannot be neglected.

What was interesting was today's debate on the budget at the Finance Committee. When each of the individual points was discussed there were no comments. [illegible] the global figure was not acceptable and this is not the first time that this has taken place in the Assembly committees. And though it may sound a bit strange, this is an entirely normal method of work for that body.

And what now? It was decided that the Federal Executive Council should agree on all this, as well as that in the course of the night the committees should also discuss all this.

The Federal Executive Council is in session now and is trying to find, having heard all the comments, a more acceptable proposal. The committees will also be in session tomorrow morning. Should the federal budget be coordinated, the resolution for next year, too, which is practically already coordinated, will be automatically accepted. Therefore, the whole business has been put off until tomorrow when both Assembly chambers will be in session.

Rebalanced Budget Adopted

LD261828 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav Assembly Federal Chamber under the chairmanship of Stana Tomasevic-Arnessen, today adopted the rebalanced budget of the Federation for 1980, the law on a temporary ban on the use of social resources for financing uneconomic and nonproductive investments, amendments to the law on basic rights in pension and disability insurance, and several other acts and legal regulations.

The adoption of the rebalanced federal budget for 1980 ensures that federal organs and organizations which are consumers of the resources of the federal budget will be able to work normally. It should be said that a complex situation had arisen recently because receipts into the federal budget for 1980 were not as high as had been planned.

The rebalanced federal budget for 1980 amounts to 132 billion dinars instead of the originally proposed 128 billion. The total rebalance amounts to 13.34 billion dinars and the resources are being provided by issuing bonds by the Yugoslav business banks.

The proposed law on daylight savings caused an unexpected lively debate today. The law should have been definitively adopted today but even while the agenda was being determined, delegate Miha Briski (Slovenia) proposed that this law be not included in today's agenda and explained this by saying the Slovene delegation, following concrete studies in the republic and a broader debate, considered this question should be still further examined.

Bogdan Osolnik said very competent voices have been raised warning that the proposed law had not been comprehensively substantiated and that there are also opposing views which show that the power saved in the mornings will be consumed in the evenings when peak consumption is even more critical.

Following a fairly lively debate in which Svetozar Pepovski, member of the Federal Executive Council, and several other delegates that took part, it was decided to accept Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen's proposal that the adoption of the law be postponed, that the entire problem be again studied in detail by the republics and provinces and that the law be resubmitted to the agenda of the committee and the chamber.

From the beginning of 1981 pensions will be compulsorily coordinated with the trends in nominal personal incomes of all workers on the territory of a republic or province. This is the most important provision of the law on the changes and supplements to the law on basic rights to old-age pensions and disablement pension insurance which the Federal Chamber adopted today by urgent procedure.

At the end of its session today, the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber adopted the 1981 federal budget, the decision approving the financial plan of the Federal Directorate for the Reserve of Industrial Products and the decision approving the financial plan of the Federal Directorate for the Reserves of Food Products for 1981. The delegates also adopted the law on implementing the 1981 federal budget this evening.

The new federal budget amounts to 168,967 billion dinars. A little over 100 billion dinars will be used for the Yugoslav People's Army, about 14 billion dinars for the work of the organs of administration, for reserves and for noneconomic investments, about 16 billion dinars for supplementary resources for the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo, more than 30 billion dinars for the war veterans and disabled protection and military pensions.

The budgetary expenditures are covered by the federation's original revenue amounting to over 100 billion dinars, by contributions from the republics and provinces amounting to nearly 64 billion dinars and by money issue of 4.6 billion dinars.

At the end of the last session this year, Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen, president of the Federal Chamber, thanked the delegates for their work in 1980 and wished them success in the new year during which the Federal Chamber will face voluminous work in the legislative and control function.

Mandic Comments on Budget

LD262330 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Dec 80

[Text] The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces and the Federal Chamber today adopted the resolution on the socioeconomic development of the country in 1981 and the budget of the federation for 1981. Information on this is provided by our Assembly reporter Dusko Mandic:

The resolution on the socioeconomic development of the country in 1981 was adopted this afternoon at the session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, as was the federal budget. As we reported at the time the draft of this document was adopted, the resolution confirms a calmer growth in the economy, a growth coordinated with the basic principles of the stabilization policy and with the real development possibilities. The basic aspirations are directed at strengthening the economy's exporting abilities and better quality of the factors of economic activity. Taking into consideration the complex nature of economic circumstances, in particular in foreign trade as well as the need to reduce the deficit in foreign trade, it is envisaged that the increase in the social product should move, expressed in percentages, between 3 and 3 and 1/2 percent.

It should be placed on record that this is so far the lowest rate of increase but, as the delegates observed, a realistically cautious one.

A moderate increase is also planned for industry and agriculture--4 percent--while in exports this rate climbs considerably to 7 percent in line with all the wishes and needs and is entirely appropriate, as is the planned rate of reducing imports by 3 percent. There is, however, no danger that such a ratio of magnitudes will lead the economy into an unfavorable position due to shortages of raw materials and other imported material, which has taken place in the outgoing year. This is made possible by another economic move: imports of investment equipment, which so far had been at the top of the list of foreign exchange expenditures, are reduced. This opens up free space for the disposal of more foreign exchange.

By comparing the percentages adopted today, we obtain a somewhat clearer picture of the development next year. Agriculture has, for the first time since the war, reached the degree of development of the industry of 4 percent, and this means that strategic orientations of the medium-term plan for increased production of food are beginning to come to life. This, in addition to better food at home, also offers higher exports of agricultural produce.

The federal budget, after all the debates, was adopted with certain reductions. The proposed budget of 169 billion dinars was reduced by 70 million dinars, and thus the federal budget in 1981 will amount to 168,967 billion dinars. A comparison shows this represents an increase on this year's budget of about 27 percent. It should be stressed that 88 percent of the budgetary expenditures were determined beforehand. The delegates agreed with this and this means that only 12 percent is left and this is truly not too much for all the remaining needs.

The Federal Chamber adopted this year's rebalanced budget which amounts to 13.3 billion dinars, and thus its total volume this year will amount to 132.28 billion dinars.

The Federal Chamber did not adopt the law on working time and motivated this by other possibilities which exist in our legal system to resolve this question. But, as this question is a complex issue, it was decided that the debate on it be continued at a later date.

The delegates accepted the law temporarily banning the construction of noneconomic projects with social resources, with the exception of those cases which involve the completion of projects already started.

PRESIDENCY PROPOSES CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER COUNCIL

LD281834 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 28 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)--The Presidency of Yugoslavia has presented to the Assembly of Yugoslavia proposal to enact a law on the setting-up of the Presidency's council for the protection of the constitutional order, to replace the existing Federal Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order as a working body of the Presidency.

Under the Constitution, the change is to be effected through a new federal law, as it is believed that the new council should be entrusted with independent exercise of certain affairs within the framework of the rights and duties of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The Presidency would appoint the president and a definite number of members of the council from among its own members, whereas other members of the council would be appointed by the Presidency of Yugoslavia in agreement with the leading bodies of the socio-political organizations in the federation. The president of the Federal Executive Council and the federal secretaries for internal affairs, external affairs and national defence would be members of the council for the protection of the constitutional order by virtue of thier office.

The council would deal with protection of the constitutionally determined order, the state and foundations of the system and the policy in this domain. The Presidency of Yugoslavia can entrust the council with the exercise of certain affairs relating to coordination of the work of state security organs. The law would provide for the council to have insight into the lawfulness of work of the administration bodies exercising security affairs, especially from the aspects of observance of the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, the rights of self-management organizations and communities and, in particular, the lawful use of the ways and means employed by the state security services.

As concerns the insight into the lawfulness of work of security organs within the armed forces the law would leave this to be exercised by the Presidency of Yugoslavia as the supreme organ of leadership and command in the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Under the law, the Federal Executive Council would be able to submit to the council for discussion certain questions pertaining to the adjustment of work of the federal administration bodies exercising state security affairs.

The council would be responsible for its work to the Presidency of Yugoslavia. Dependent on the matters involved, there is also the possibility of corresponding federal, republican and provincial bodies participating in the work of the council.

REPUBLICAN, PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES VIEWED

LD232146 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)--In draft amendments of the constitutions of the Yugoslav republics and provinces, on which a public debate has been opened, differences regarding some solutions are noticeable, but that diversity does not bring into question the unified foundations of the Yugoslav political system.

Different solutions are especially noticeable regarding the length of the term of office of presidents of executive bodies of assemblies of socio-political communities (of the republics, provinces, communes).

In Bosnia and Hercegovina, according to the draft amendments, the Executive Council president will be elected for two years and cannot be elected to the same office two times successively during the council's term of office. In Macedonia the Executive Council president will be elected for a four-year term of office and cannot be elected two times successively. In the Province of (?Kosovo) the Executive Council president will be elected for a two-year term of office and cannot be (?reelected).

In the draft amendments almost all republics and provinces explicitly provide that the term of office of assembly presidents of socio-political communities lasts one year.

According to solutions in Bosnia and Hercegovina and in Croatia, Assembly presidents cannot be reelected to that office in the course of the Assembly's term of office, while the draft amendments in Montenegro, Macedonia, Vojvodina and Kosovo envisage that Assembly presidents cannot be elected to that office two times successively.

The draft amendments of Slovenia and Serbia do not regulate this question by a special provision, but leave that over statutes and other acts. [as received]

It is seen from these examples that, in spite of differences, the solutions are unified regarding the term of office of mentioned elected officials which lasts up to four years. The possibility so far of somebody being elected to the same office for the third time is completely abolished.

Public debate on the [word indistinct] amendments, as well as on the amendments of the Yugoslav Constitution, will last to the end of February.

Members of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of Yugoslavia have recently assessed that differences in the [word indistinct] of the republican and provincial constitutions are somewhat greater than expected. Some of them it was said, [word indistinct] not resulted only from specific features of individual republics or provinces.

The existing public debate should assess whether the concrete proposed solutions [words indistinct] of Yugoslav citizens who have plebiscitary [as received] supported Tito's initiative for introduction of collective work, decision-making and responsibility.

The draft amendments of constitutions of the republics and provinces differ also in solutions regarding the duration of the term of office of the Presidency president. All republics and provinces, except Serbia, envisage that the Presidency president's term of office lasts one year and that he cannot be re-elected to that office. It is only Serbia that envisages that the same person can be (?elected) to that office two times successively at the most.

SLOVENIA'S RIBICIC SCORES FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

AU241800 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1563 14 Dec 80 pp 24-25

[Text] In the latest issue of the specialized magazine START, there is an interview by journalist Jelena Lovric with Mitja Ribicic, former president of the Federal Executive Council and current president of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia. We reprint some excerpts from this interesting interview:

[Question] Can one ascribe our modest successes in the economy--about which we talk a great deal but seem to work too little--to a preoccupation with some less important discussions?

[Answer] We have now successfully overcome these tendencies on the whole. But we ourselves sometimes create confusion among people. For instance, we have said that the function of the Federal Executive Council has not been adjusted to the new self-managing relations in the federation, but at the same time we forget that the Federal Executive Council has the great responsibility, together with science and all the creative forces of our society, to prepare a blueprint for our stabilization policy. We criticize the Federal Executive Council, we run it down, but we need it. It is partly for this reason that recently we have lacked a sufficiently firm, strong federal government, and that it behaves like a square peg in a round hole [poput rogova u vreci]; the republics influence it much more than is natural in the present situation. [paragraph continues]

The Federal Executive Council should be quarreling practically with every republic.

[Question] Just as you were when you were the premier?

[Answer] Almost like that. I was quarreling with the Slovenes about the roads, with Bosnia about the Bosnian Krajina, with Vojvodina about agricultural produce prices, with Serbia about subsidies to Crvena Zastava, and with the Croatians about extrabudgetary spending. I do not think that the way the Federal Executive Council worked at that time was ideal, but we do need a nucleus in the federation which will present its proposals and firm positions, and either rise or fall with them.

I have always been in favor of this, for I think it is not tragic if a government falls in a socialist system. It is better that governments fall on the basis of their plans than to conduct a policy of compromise....

...We have very ambitious plans. Some people think it is bad that we no longer obtain foreign loans. I think it is good. It is good that nobody will grant us a loan any more. Perhaps this sounds like an anti-Yugoslav statement, but life must force us to rely on our own forces in our development. Life will change, we will be short of some things, and it is a question whether we will spend 5 billion [no monetary unit given] on oil every year. I do not think that our people are afraid of this, but it is important to remark that their sensitivity to our behavior, the behavior of the leaders, has increased. They look rather critically at the relationship between our words and deeds. The people have become very sensitive to such things as Mercedes cars and housing loans obtained by some officials; they are sensitive to banquets and various luxuries....

[Question] A cadre change in your republican leadership this summer was accorded great attention and notice, perhaps in other republics more than in Slovenia. The stepping down of Comrade Vratusa from the position of president of the Executive Council passed without an upheaval, almost as something normal.

[Answer] Yes, we made this change in the Executive Council in agreement with Vratusa....It was normal, but to some people it seemed a shock, almost like a political lack of confidence. There are no normal departures from functions in our country. It is believed that every change in the government or the Central Committee has a background and that something is wrong with the person concerned. This is our problem, and it is much greater than the length of the term of office.... In Slovenia, we assessed that in the present situation we must transform the Executive Council, by rapid reconstruction, into an operative stabilization staff which will assume concrete responsibilities. Together with Vratusa, we concluded that we need in this position a man of action and not one of scientific thoroughness; a younger man with greater stamina.... Vratusa's prestige has only increased, for he obtained room and time to develop his abilities. I think that the Federal Executive Council could do the same. I do not think that Djuranovic should resign; he need not. But it is clear to all that the Federal Executive Council, as a unified team, should be felt on the Yugoslav scene. Ask the delegates in the Federal Assembly: Comrades from the Federal Executive Council appear before them, the first with one proposal, the second with another, the third with a third. When documents are being prepared, telephone links with the republics get busy. Calculations are made somehow as to what will be the cut of each one. All these calculations are made in the federation, and this is the statism which causes us great problems and confuses our steps. I was in the federal administration for 7 years. When I arrived, I said I would make some changes in the administration. Everybody laughed. Jokes and cartoons were made at my expense and it was considered that I had illusions. And I think they were right. Little has changed in these 10 years in our administration, there is a continuity....

[Question] Presidents of the Federal Executive Council go, but those people stay....

[Answer] They stay and they, the people who draft document and briefs, are a power. You cannot say about anyone that he is not in favor of a self-managing system and socialism, but objectively speaking he is against them. He objectively works against self-management and socialism. It is a peddler's policy, and it is bargaining: You give me this and I'll give you that; and this is most dangerous for a self-managing society which should make accords and develop self-managing income relations. I think that it is necessary to tighten up the responsibility of the administration for some moves which have had no real justification. For instance, there is this borrowing abroad. For 3 years we have been borrowing in excess of all the limits set by social accord. This is the problem that you have mentioned. People think: If one can depart from an accord in such great things, why not in small things, too....

Explains Criticisms

AU252047 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 80 p 4

[J. Pjevic report]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 19 Dec--Asked to comment on various "reactions" to his recent interview in START, Mitja Ribicic, president of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, told us that he granted the interview at the magazine's request and that he expressed in it only his personal views on the present political situation and his personal opinions on some current questions on the activities of some institutions of our political system, including the federal and republican executive political organs. He expressed his views on these questions as a man who had worked actively for several years in the highest organs of the federation.

When we remarked that some people are making big conclusions on the basis of his interview, Ribicic stressed that this was wrong or rather incorrect, on the basis of fragmentary thoughts of a man published in a journal, to make such assessments and conclusions as, for instance, on how the Federal Executive Council is carrying out its responsible functions and what the SAWP actually represents in our social practice. Drawing conclusions on whether a possible reconstruction of one organ or another is necessary is least acceptable. This applies even more because the constitutional role and responsibility of all the organs including the Federal Executive Council in our political system is well known, Ribicic emphasized. He said it is well known that the Federal Executive Council is responsible for its activities directly and primarily to the SFRY delegate Assembly and the SFRY Presidency, and that therefore complex conclusions on whether the Federal Executive Council performs its consitutional rights, duties and responsibilities to a satisfactory degree and in a satisfactory manner can only be adopted on the basis of the assessments and positions of these organs.

Ribicic stressed that we must learn to be less sensitive to the differences in views and assessments; this sensitivity is still our great weakness. This is shown among other things by some of the reaction to my interview. My personal experience has taught me, Ribicic recalled, that excessive sensitivity and excessive emotional reactions in political work in many respects make it difficult for a man to see the real state of affairs and the correct ways out of given situations.

At the moment, however, our greatest common problem is to set up socioeconomic relations on social ownership principles, for which the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor provide only the general framework of principle and which demand concrete creative work in discovering the best practical solutions. Unfortunately, under the pressure of our daily problems we are inclined to return to solutions which have been known to us from the state ownership relations and statist administration, which in our system do not mobilize the activities of self-managers in the desired direction and which sooner or later lead us into a blind alley and conflicts with constitutional principles.

In this context and in this sense, Ribicic pointed out, one should comprehend my critical observation which I have uttered on many other occasions and not only in the said interview. Anyhow, the stress of my critical observations is primarily directed at the occurrences of statism in the republics, which is no less dangerous than the federal statism. I am firmly convinced that we must all permanently struggle against all the remnants of the old relations which have their roots in social reality, too, and are not exclusively or primarily a consequence of subjective will or strivings of individuals.

Accords To Be Implemented

Comrade Ribicic further remarked that in reading and interpreting his interview one should also bear in mind that he granted it at a time when no agreement had yet been reached on the social accords on the foundations of the new SFRY medium-term plan. In the meantime, he stresses, agreement has been reached which constitutes a great event and achievement, for it opens up fresh prospects for an even more successful self-managing development of our country and a strengthening of its cohesion on self-managing social foundations. This agreement in itself is also a tribute to the Federal Executive Council which has worked hard on the accord on the basis of principle, which is particularly essential. This fact contributed most to the agreement being reached among the republics and provinces.

We remarked that some people believe that he assessed our current political situation too pessimistically in his interview. Ribicic replied that such a conclusion is possible, but that very varied personal opinions may exist about the political situation as long as there is no objective common assessment, but this should not bother anybody and no generalized and far-reaching conclusions should be drawn. Some people think that the political situation is good, others think it is bad rather than good, and others again that it is completely bad, and so forth. I think that this is essentially influenced by the economic situation.

However, the essence is not in what anybody personally thinks about the political situation but in that we all should strive in our ways to make it as good as possible.

GRLICKOV ADDRESSES SELF-MANAGEMENT SYMPOSIUM

LD251454 Belgrade TANJUG English 1632 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Skopje, 24 Dec (TANJUG)--"Socialist self-management society being set up and developed in Yugloslavia should not be taken as a new and 'peerless model' to guide both present and future socialism, but as a result and process of the implementation of an authentic socialist revolution in Yugoslovia," Dr. Alksandar Grlickov, member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, said in his speech at a symposium on self-management which opened in Skopje, capital of Yugoslavia's constituent Republic of Macedonia, southeastern Yugoslavia, today. Self-management is a historical break and transition from the "system of state" to the system of its withering away and the development of a democratic political organization of its kind of society with the working class ruling it, Grlickov said, among other things.

The Skopje symposium of self-management was sponsored by the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts and will take two days. Prof. Evgenbi Dimitrov also addressed it today. The fact that the communist party did not become estranged from its working class in the period of revolutionary statism and that any dangers of its bureaucratization were removed at the very beginning is of crucial importance for self-management guidance of Yugoslavia's socialist development, he said.

Statism is bound to lead the worker into a position in which he is deprived of his active and creative engagement, another speaker, Dr. Milan Netkov, said, among other things. This is to deprive society of that form of revolutionary practice which only can lead to setting up the associations of free producers in the direction of communism, Netkov said.

BORBA REPORTS ON DECLINE IN REAL PERSONAL INCOMES

AU282128 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 80 p 5

[M.D. report]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec--In the first 8 months of this year real personal incomes in all republics and provinces were lower than in the same period last year. The greatest decline in the real personal incomes was recorded in Serbia where it amounted to 9 percent. In Macedonia and Montenegro the decline in real personal incomes amounted to 8 percent, in Bosnia-Hercegovina 5 percent and in Slovenia, Croatia, Kosovo and Vojvodina 6 percent. This information is provided by the report issued by the Federal Institute for Labor, Health and Social Insurance.

FINANCIAL SAVINGS IN ARMED FORCES REPORTED

LD240010 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)--Members of the Yugoslav People's Army have accepted economic stabilization measures as a long-term task of primary importance. In the units and institutions savings are made at every step, but the fact is borne in mind that at no time must economies reflect on army combat readiness.

Good-housekeeping concern about all aspects of expenditure is present in all military environments--in the barracks, on training grounds, in the institutions, in medical rooms and in cook-houses... work is carried under self-managing conditions, savings are made on fuel, reprocessed materials, ammunition, in other words wherever one can. The distinction between big and little savings does not exist because the military dinar has always been and has remained large. Nevertheless, let us start from the biggest savings made.

In all army areas, in the air force and the air defense, in the naval district and in the Titograd Military District large-scale savings were made during the 10 months of this year alone. For instance, the members of the Nis army area made savings to the value of 44 million dinars while their colleagues in the Zagreb army area by taking part in the construction of various social standard of living projects, by afforesting treeless areas, and by gathering farm crops made savings of almost 43 million dinars. At the same time about 50 million dinars were saved in the Sarajevo army area and the same amount of money in the Ljubljana army area. Considerable economies were made also in other army areas. Out of the total planned resources for the construction of projects and in area administration, members of the air force and air defense saved almost 180 million dinars, while total economies in the Titograd Military District amounted to about 55 million dinars.

RETIRING SENIOR MILITARY PERSONNEL LISTED

LD241648 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 24 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)--By order of the SFRY Presidency and on the basis of the law on service in the armed forces which provides for the cessation of active military service for military personnel who have attained a specific age, 1980 represents the end of active military service for Col Generals Enver Cemalovic, Branislav Joksovic, Rahmija Kadenic, Dusan Korac, Mladen Marin, Petar Matic, Ivan Miskovic, Dr Zlatko Rendulic, Janko Sekirnik, Milos Stanimirovic, Franc Tavcar, Mirko Vranic and Dusan Vujatovic; for Lt Col Generals Zarko Alujevic, Milan Glumac, Milan Joka, Milan Krdzic, Milutin Matic, Dragoljub Moravcic, Jovan Stokovac, Milivoje Stankovic, Ferdinand Toplak, Djuro Vojvodic, and Milan Vranes; and for Major Generals Dr Milan Jovanovic, Zivko Jovanovski, Dr Mioljub Kicic, Dr Andjelko Kucisec, Djuro Ljiljak, Ernest Mezga, Djuro Prilika, Stevan Radovanovic and Dusan Petrovic.